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THE MINISTERS OF JESUS CHRIST

I.—A BIBLICAL STUDY

CONTENTS.

THE RISE AND ESTABLISHMENT OF PRIESTHOOD.—THE CONSUMMATION OF PRIESTHOOD IN JESUS CHRIST.—THE DELEGATION OF THE OFFICE OF THE CHRISTIAN PRIESTHOOD.—THE PRIESTHOOD CONFERRED ON THE WHOLE CHRISTIAN PEOPLE.—DISTINCTIONS OF OFFICE AMONG THE MINISTERS OF JESUS CHRIST.—THE LORD'S SUPPER.

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THE
MINISTERS OF JESUS CHRIST

THE MINISTERS OF JESUS CHRIST

II.—A STUDY OF THE ANTE-NICENE CHRISTIAN LITERATURE

BY

J. FOSTER LEPINE

VICAR OF LAMORBEY, KENT

LONGMANS, GREEN, AND CO.

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1900

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PREFACE

THE writer has endeavoured in a previous volume to ascertain, by a study of the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, what is the position and what are the functions of the Ministers of Jesus Christ therein determined. In the present volume he has endeavoured to ascertain, by a study of the ante-Nicene Christian Literature, what representation of that position and those functions was current in the ante-Nicene Period.

He believes that the position and functions of the Ministers of Jesus Christ are *determined* by Holy Scripture, and that what is *represented* in other writings, however ancient and primitive, is to be tested by the Canonical Scriptures. He thus uses the terms *determined* and *represented* advisedly; without prejudging whether the determination and the representation are, or are not, identical, he takes the Bible as the standard, and from the position thus gained,

proceeds to the study of the ante-Nicene Literature in order to see what is the representation therein given of what has been previously authoritatively revealed. He believes that the teaching of non-Canonical writings must stand or fall as it agrees or disagrees with that of Holy Scripture; that there are not two sources of authority mutually supporting and explaining one another, but that there is one source of authoritative revelation by which all other teaching must be tried, and that unless this is recognised at the outset of such inquiries as the present, the bearings of authority become confused, and the student, instead of being Divinely guided, drifts hither and thither. That this rule is recognised by the Church of England is clear from, to mention no others, Article XX., which declares that "It is not lawful for the Church to ordain anything that is contrary to God's word written, neither may it so expound one place of Holy Scripture, that it be repugnant to another." This position is also declared in unambiguous language by the Rev. J. H. Newman in his letters to the Rev. R. H. Froude, of August 23, 1835, and to Mrs. Mozley of November 17, 1839.

The notes appended to the quotations from the several writings are not intended as adequate

expressions of the minds of the writers, but rather as points of reference to the writings themselves, and these notes are inserted as a whole after the quotations in order to preserve the continuity of quotation and to let the ante-Nicene writers speak for themselves rather than to bring their evidence to bear upon a preconceived system apart from New Testament teaching.

An interesting question arises as to what the writers would have said on certain points had they been questioned, or had they had occasion to speak on them or to speak more fully than their extant writings record. No use, however, is made in these pages of the *argumentum ex silentio.* Unsatisfactory at all times, this argument would be specially unsatisfactory here: it is a two-edged weapon and is equally applicable and equally misleading on both sides of controverted subjects. The writers doubtless knew and believed many things which they do not expressly mention, but we are here concerned with what they knew and believed so far as they do make express mention.

The writer would direct attention to the sense in which the words *spiritual, figurative, priestly,* and *baptism* are used in the following pages.

Spiritual is sometimes taken as the antithesis of "real;" he does not so use the word, but believes that the "spiritual" is the most "real," and would substitute as antithesis to "spiritual," "carnal," instead of "real;" neither does the word "figurative" imply absence of *spiritual reality*, which the figurative is the means of expressing and conveying.

The word *priestly* is used in harmony with its contents as found in it in the former volume on "The Ministers of Jesus Christ: a Biblical Study." Priesthood denotes or connotes redemption, separation, obedience, access to God, presentation of offerings and sacrifices, intercession, ministry from God to man, ministry from man to God; it is first access, then intercessory use of that access in its personal and relative meaning. From this priesthood of universal character and privilege arises the official priesthood of those who are called of God and ordained to the special responsibilities and work of their office. Priestly *character* belongs to the whole Christian People, priestly *office* to those of the Christian People who are called and ordained to it. In the English Ordinal the words run: "I present unto you these persons present, to be admitted to the *Order* of Priesthood"; "these are they whom we

purpose, God willing, to receive this day unto the holy *Office* of Priesthood." "Do you think in your heart, that you be truly called . . . to the *Order* and *Ministry* of Priesthood?" "Receive the Holy Ghost for the *Office and Work* of a Priest in the Church of God." Those who already belong, and because they already belong, to the royal priesthood of the whole Christian People, are called and ordained to the *Office* of priesthood. The character is one, the office is that to which certain of those who possess the priestly character are Ordered or Ordained to minister to their priestly brethren who are not so ordained to office, and also to the world; to quote the words of Canon Moberly, "those who stand before the congregation, either as its representative organs to Godward, or as the accredited ministers of God to it, must be authorised and empowered so to do."

A sense, as incomplete as it is unscriptural, is often attributed to the word *baptism*, as if the use of water exhausted its signification, and to the omission of a realisation of the Divine action of the Holy Spirit in response to prayer and obedience to the Divine command. The word is used in the following pages in its full Scriptural meaning.

My grateful acknowledgments are due to the Rev.

W. Sanday, D.D., LL.D., Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity and Canon of Christ Church, for an introduction to the Rev. S. C. Gayford, M.A., Vice-Principal of Cuddesdon College, and to the latter for most kindly going through the greater part of my MS., and for many valuable criticisms and suggestions. This expression of sincere thanks does not, however, imply endorsement of doctrinal conclusions arrived at.

Easter, 1900.

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RESPICE ASPICE PROSPICE.

INTRODUCTION.

IT is necessary as a preliminary to this Study of the Ante-Nicene Literature, to briefly state what is determined by Holy Scripture as to the position and functions of the Ministers of Jesus Christ, in order that the evidence of the former may be duly estimated in relation to the latter. For the methods by which this summary has been reached the reader is courteously referred to the writer's previous volume.

CHAPTER I.

PRELIMINARY SUMMARY OF THE POSITION AND FUNCTIONS OF THE MINISTERS OF JESUS CHRIST AS DETERMINED BY HOLY SCRIPTURE.

1. THE Apostles, Divinely called, qualified, and commissioned by our Lord as His Ministers, ordained Presbyters and Deacons; and provided for their succession by committing, on well-defined conditions and qualifications, to such of their representatives as Timothy and Titus, the duty of Ordination, through whom this duty was committed to successors.

2. The former of these two orders was gradually distinguished under Apostolic direction and sanction, into the two orders of Bishops and Presbyters, so that by the time of the completion of the canon of the New Testament evidence is given therein of the active operation of the three Orders throughout wide areas, although the terms Bishop and Presbyter are interchangeable, and the division of labour represented by each is not in all instances sharply defined.

3. To Presbyter-Bishops in succession from the Apostles pertained the duty of Ordination, and in

addition, the care, administration, and regulation of Baptism, the Lord's Supper, Discipline, Christian Assemblage, Worship, Edification and Alms. Ordination excepted, all these pertained to Presbyters generally, and in them both Presbyter-Bishops and Presbyters were assisted by Deacons.

4. Ordination consisted in appointment to Office, in recognition of the Divine Will, of those who possessed suitable gifts, and was accompanied by Prayer, symbolised by the laying on of hands, for the Divine Blessing on their appointment and ministry. The Grace of Office was in no instance assumed to be by, or to be capable of, human transmission, but was received directly and immediately from above in answer to Prayer.

5. Ordination of some to Office did not cancel for others the duty and privilege of the unofficial ministry of preaching, teaching and exhortation, according to the gifts which each possessed, but was for the guidance, stimulus and control of such unofficial ministry to the unity and harmonious working of the whole Church.

6. Holy Scripture as completed by the New Testament canon became the authorisation and authority of the Officers of the Church as well as the Rule of Faith and Practice for the Church at large; the Ministry of the Church was thus administrative of Holy Scripture, apart from which the three orders held no independent position of Authority or Teaching.

7. Baptism was the sign, means and pledge of admission into Christ's Church by the reception of the Holy Ghost, and was the entrance of the baptised upon instruction in the details of the Christian Faith.

8. The Lord's Supper was a Memorial before God of the propitiatory Sacrifice of Christ for the sins of the world; a sign, means and pledge of Faith's pleading of that One Sacrifice once offered, and of the sealing and continual renewing of Divine Forgiveness; and a sign, means and pledge of the sustenance and strengthening of the life of the Christian People from the life of Christ through obedient Faith in the ever-present risen Lord.

9. The officiating Bishops or Presbyters were Ministers of the Truths symbolised by Baptism and the Lord's Supper, and of the symbols of the Truths thus set forth; they did not assume any power over, or claim to produce any change in, the substance of the symbols, as regards Baptism with a view to attaching mechanical efficacy to the Baptismal waters; or as regards the Lord's Supper, with a view to the re-offering of the One Sacrifice or the carnal appropriation by eating and drinking of the Body and Blood of the Lord: they were content to state the Truths connected with Baptism and the Lord's Supper as they received them from the Lord without attempting to explain or define the how or the why.

10. The Ministers of Jesus Christ were an Official Priesthood under Jesus Christ the High Priest of the

New Covenant; this priesthood differed from the priesthood conferred on the whole Christian people only in their ordination to *Office*, and not in priestly *character*, which latter belonged alike to themselves, the ordained Ministers of Christ, and to the Church of which they were the ordained Ministers.

11. The work of the Ministers of Christ was to minister Christ to others, so that all might have direct access to Christ Himself and be brought as near to God as they themselves stood. They were not a ring-fence to keep men at a distance from the Son of man, but servants to bring men to the Son of God. They claimed no domination over the Divinely-appointed Sacraments or the Divinely-wrought faith of the Christian people. They were servants of Christ; for His sake Servants of His People; and Ministers of His Gospel to the world.

12. It was part of the Obedience of Christ's Ministers to do their own work without attempting to hinder others from doing the work to which the ever-present Spirit of Christ might call them, and without attempting to impose penalties on those who refused to receive their Lord. The discharge of their commission brought those to whom they discharged it into direct responsibility to their Lord for the way in which His Message was treated, and there they were to leave them.

The points of this Summary may be thus classified :—

1. The three Orders of Official Ministry.
2. Episcopal Ordination in the line of the Apostolic Succession.
3. The Character of Official Ministry as: Priestly, based upon the priestly character of the whole Christian People, but by reason of Office Presidential in the Church and Sacraments; Administrative of Holy Scripture; and Non-exclusive of such unofficial ministry as preaching, teaching, and exhorting.
4. The character of Baptism as spiritual, sacramental, and regenerative.
5. The character of the Lord's Supper as spiritual, sacramental, eucharistic, commemorative before God, and life-sustaining.

CHAPTER II.

THE POSITION AND FUNCTIONS OF THE MINISTERS OF JESUS CHRIST AS REPRESENTED IN THE ANTE-NICENE CHRISTIAN LITERATURE.

WE now proceed to an examination of the Ante-Nicene Literature in order to see what representation is therein given of the Ordinances of our Lord and His Apostles from Apostolic times down to the Council of Nicæa, A.D. 325. These Writings are representative directly or indirectly, by statement or controversy, of opinion and practice in the several times and places to which they belong. All the published translations have been carefully examined, and whatever has been found in them bearing in any way on the subject is here quoted, that the reader may form his own independent judgment, such quotations only being omitted as are mere repetitions. The writings are taken in chronological order, and a note of date and locality is affixed to each writer or document.

The Apostolic Fathers.

The term Apostolic Fathers is used to designate those who are known or may be reasonably presumed to have associated with, and directly derived their teaching from, some Apostle. In its widest range it was applied to Barnabas, Hermas, Clemens Romanus, Ignatius, Polycarp, Papias and the author of the Epistle to Diognetus. But of these only Clement, Ignatius and Polycarp satisfy the above definition, and to them therefore belongs an importance and a value which cannot be claimed in the same degree for the others above mentioned. The writings of these three Fathers are "the proper link between the Canonical Scriptures and the Church Fathers of succeeding ages; they lie well within the main stream of Catholic teaching, and prove that Christianity was Catholic from the very first, uniting a variety of forms in one faith."

The Didaché is included in this group only for the sake of chronological order, and a note as to its value will be found preceding the quotations from it.

Thus it is evident that the writings included under the Apostolic Fathers are of unequal value; this remark will apply to all the writings of the Ante-Nicene period; they must be judged by the characters of the writers, their opportunities of knowledge and their comparative intrinsic worth: the Didaché and the Epistle of Barnabas for instance compare

unfavourably with such writings as those of S. Justin the Martyr.

1. *S. Clement of Rome.*

ROME AND CORINTH, A.D. 95–96.

According to common tradition S. Clement was one of the first bishops of Rome after the age of the Apostles ; he was certainly a leading member of the Church there towards the end of the first century when the reign of Domitian was drawing to a close. The object of his Epistle to the Corinthians, which synchronises with the Domitian Persecution, was the restoration in the Corinthian Church of the harmony which had been disturbed by dissensions caused by the arrogance of a few self-willed persons who had taken the lead in a revolt against the presbyters ; the possession of spiritual gifts by the malcontents, and possibly their views on disputable points of asceticism, may have been the grounds on which the revolt was based.

The Epistle of Clement was publicly read in the churches from a very early date ; Dionysius, Bishop of Corinth A.D. 170, refers to its being read in his day in the Sunday assemblies at Corinth, and Eusebius says that it was the ancient custom, continued down to his own time, of very many churches to do so.

The date of the document is A.D. 95–96.

"It is sent in the name of a community, not of an individual. It is the Epistle of the Romans, not of Clement.

There is no evidence that any respectable writer during the early centuries ever placed it in the same category or invested it with the same authority, as the canonical books of Scripture. The importance which Irenæus attributes to it consists in its recording the traditional interpretation of the Apostolic teaching which prevailed in the great Church of Rome from the earliest times, and as being not the source but the channel of the Apostolic tradition, though the channel at the point where the stream issues from its sources" (Lightfoot).

The tone of the letter is in accord with the universal tradition that Clement was a bishop; it is the letter of one who was more than a leading member, and more than a presbyter-bishop; the writer seems to be the *persona* of the Church, its chief presbyter-bishop, or as we should now say, the bishop of the Church of Rome. What he says in the letter about Apostolical order indirectly indicates and reflects the opinion in which he held his own official position.

S. Clement's Epistle to the Corinthians.

This letter will be best understood for the purposes of this inquiry if a sentence in chapter 21 is taken as the text of the letter and the several parts of the letter as explaining and amplifying it.

c. 21. Let us reverence our rulers. Τοὺς προηγουμένους ἡμων αἰδεσθῶμεν.

c. 1–21. Clement has led up to this appeal by referring to the sedition against the presbyters then

rife in the Corinthian Church, condemning envy and jealousy, insisting on the necessity of obedience to the Divine Will, of the graces of humility and submissiveness, and of repentance where these have been contravened (1–19); and by an exceedingly beautiful description of the harmonious and submissive order of co-operation which heavens, earth and sea, seasons and winds exemplify; closing with the words, "All these things the great Creator and Master of the universe ordered to be in peace and concord, doing good unto all things, but far beyond the rest unto us who have taken refuge in His compassionate mercies through our Lord Jesus Christ, to Whom be the glory and majesty for ever and ever. Amen" (20). Let us reverence our rulers (21).

22–36. After an appeal for single-minded and trustful obedience to God in chapters 21–35, he says in chapter 36: This is the way, dearly beloved, wherein we found our salvation, even Jesus Christ the High Priest of our offerings, the Guardian and Helper of our weakness. Through Him let us look stedfastly unto the heights of the heavens, etc.

37–44. Let us therefore enlist ourselves, brethren, with all earnestness in His faultless ordinances. Let us mark the soldiers that are enlisted under our rulers, how exactly, how readily, how submissively, they execute the orders given them. All are not prefects, nor rulers of thousands, nor rulers of hundreds, nor rulers of fifties, and so forth; but each

man in his own rank executeth the orders given by the King and the governors. . . . Let us take our body as an example. The head without the feet is nothing; so likewise the feet without the head are nothing; even the smallest limbs of our body are necessary and useful for the whole body: but all the members conspire and unite in subjection, that the whole body may be saved (37).

Forasmuch, then, as these things are manifest beforehand, and we have searched into the depths of the Divine knowledge, we ought to do all things in order as many as the Master hath commanded us to perform at their appointed seasons.

Now the offerings and ministrations (*προσφορὰς καὶ λειτουργίας*) He commanded to be performed with care, and not to be done rashly and in disorder, but at fixed times and seasons. And where and by whom He would have them performed, He Himself fixed by His supreme will; that all things being done with piety according to His good pleasure might be acceptable to His will. They therefore that make their offerings at the appointed seasons are acceptable and blessed: for while they follow the institutions of the Master they cannot go wrong. For unto the High Priest his proper services have been assigned, and to the priests their proper office is appointed, and upon the Levites their proper ministrations are laid. The layman is bound by the layman's ordinances (*ὁ λαϊκὸς ἄνθρωπος τοῖς λαϊκοῖς προστάγμασιν*

δέδεται. The use of λαϊκὸς here marks the distinction between the rulers and the people; cf. LXX. Jer. xxxiv. (xli.) 19) (40). Let each of you, brethren, in his own order give thanks unto God, maintaining a good conscience and not transgressing the appointed rule of his service, but acting with all seemliness. Not in any place, brethren, are the continual daily sacrifices offered, or the freewill offerings, or the sin offerings and the trespass offerings, but in Jerusalem alone. And even then the offering is not made in every place, but before the Sanctuary in the Court of the Altar; and this, too, through the High Priest and the aforesaid ministers, after that the victim to be offered hath been inspected for blemishes. They therefore who do anything contrary to the seemly ordinance of His will receive death as the penalty. Ye see, brethren, in proportion as greater knowledge hath been vouchsafed to us, so much the more are we exposed to danger (41).

The Apostles received the Gospel for us from the Lord Jesus Christ; Jesus Christ was sent forth from God. So then Christ is from God, and the Apostles are from Christ. Both therefore came of the will of God in the appointed order. Having therefore received a charge, and having been fully assured through the resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ and confirmed in the Word of God with full assurance of the Holy Ghost, they went forth with the glad tidings that the Kingdom of God should come. So preaching

everywhere in country and town, they appointed their firstfruits, when they had proved them by the Spirit, to be bishops and deacons unto them that should believe. And this they did in no new fashion; for indeed it had been written concerning bishops and deacons from very ancient times; for thus saith the Scripture in a certain place, I will appoint their bishops in righteousness and their deacons in faith (42).

Chapter 43 argues that it was no marvel that the Apostles should appoint bishops and deacons seeing that Moses, in reference to the disorder arising from jealousy of the priestly office under the Old Testament, recorded the Divine injunctions as to that priestly office in the sacred books and laid up the rods of the tribes in the Tabernacle, by which the Divine Will was made known when jealousy arose concerning the priesthood. The argument is continued in chapter 44, as follows.

And our Apostles knew, through our Lord Jesus Christ, that there would be strife over the name of the bishop's office. For this cause therefore, having received complete foreknowledge, they appointed the aforesaid persons, and afterwards they provided a continuance, that if these should fall asleep, other approved men should succeed to their ministration. Those therefore who were appointed by them, or afterwards by other men of repute with the consent of the whole Church, and have ministered unblameably

to the flock of Christ in lowliness of mind, peacefully and with all modesty, and for a long time have borne a good report with all—these men we consider to be unjustly thrust out from their ministration. For it will be no light sin for us, if we thrust out those who have offered the gifts (δῶρα)[1] of the Bishop's office unblameably and holily. Blessed are those presbyters who have gone before, seeing that their departure was fruitful and ripe: for they have no fear lest any one should remove them from their appointed place. For we see that ye have displaced certain persons, though they were living honourably, from the ministration which they had respected blamelessly (44).

The remaining part of the letter consists of an appeal to the disaffected to repent and submit themselves to the presbyters, and may be summed up in the words of chapters 54 and 57:—

Who therefore is noble among you? . . . Who is compassionate? Who is fulfilled with love? Let him say, If by reason of me there be faction and strife and divisions, I retire; I depart whither ye will, and

[1] Sacrifices (θυσία), gifts (δῶρα), and offerings (προσφοράς). From a consideration of parallel passages in this epistle, and their illustration from the Epistle to the Hebrews (xiii. 15, 16), to which epistle S. Clement is largely indebted elsewhere, it is manifest that the reference is to the prayers and thanksgivings, the alms, the eucharistic elements, contributions to the agape, etc. The presbyters led the prayers and thanksgivings of the congregation; they presented the alms and contributions to God, and asked His blessing on them in the name of the whole body; in this sense they might be said to "offer the gifts" (see Lightfoot on c. 44).

I do that which is ordered of the people, only let the flock of Christ be at peace with its duly appointed presbyters (54).

Ye therefore who laid the foundation of this sedition, submit yourselves unto the presbyters and receive chastisement unto repentance, bending the knees of your heart. . . . For it is better for you to be found little in the flock of Christ, and to have your name on God's roll, than to be in exceeding honour and yet to be cast out from the hope of Him (57).

Notes.

1. In these extracts there are three analogical references applied to the Ministers of Jesus Christ: (1) The grades of military officers, (2) the members of the human body in their several functions, (3) the Jewish hierarchy. The point of analogy is evidently that of orderly and harmonious co-operation in the due subjection of the several parts. The use of the analogy of the Jewish hierarchy is similar to Origen's admission of such an analogy with regard to Christian officers when he says "allowing for the difference of occupation" (see p. 147), and carries with it no necessary implication of three orders of Christian ministry, since of Christian Offices he enumerates only two as distinctive one from another, the terms bishop and presbyter being synonymous terms as in the New Testament Scriptures. In the case of

military officers he enumerates four grades, adding "and so forth;" of the members of the human body he specifies two, and then refers indefinitely to others —"the smallest limbs."

2. The respective duties of bishop, or presbyter, and deacon are not formally defined, but they are evidently distinct one from another, and no one is to transgress the appointed rule of his service.

3. The Apostles are said to have appointed bishops and deacons, who should appoint successors to carry on their ministry after their decease, in order to prevent strife over the office of bishop; such strife is a sin against love and brotherhood, leading to factions, and is the cause of blasphemy outside and of peril within. Such presbyters having blamelessly fulfilled their office cannot be justly removed from it, and the attempt to remove them is a sin to be repented of. Church order is represented as the counterpart of natural order and political order, and the deposition of faithful ministers as a shocking irregularity—a violation of the eternal order, a confusion of all things human and divine.

4. Bishops, or presbyters, and deacons are represented as sent forth by the Apostles, as the Apostles were by Christ, and as Christ was sent forth from God, in an appointed order according to the Will of God and in fulfilment of prophecy.

5. The Lord's Supper is included in the reference to the offering of the gifts by the Presbyters.

6. The Epistle opens and closes with a blessing, according to Apostolic precedent.

Comparison with New Testament Summary.

Confirmation.—Official Ministry of Bishops or Presbyters, and Deacons, who have distinctive rules of service not to be transgressed. Apostolic Ordination in due succession of Divine Commission. Presidential character of Official Ministry.

Development.—In association with cosmical, physical, and military analogies, an analogy with the Jewish hierarchy is applied to the Christian Ministry, which thus becomes more and more distinctly a class. The analogy, however, has reference to order of harmonious co-operation, not to character.

Variation.—The Lord's Supper is included in the expression "to offer the gifts of the Bishop's Office."

2. *S. Ignatius.*

ASIA MINOR AND ROME, A.D. 70–110.

S. Ignatius was Bishop of Antioch from about A.D. 70 to 107 or 110. His letters synchronise with the persecution under Trajan, in which he suffered martyrdom at Rome. They were written on his way from Antioch to Rome, at two halting-places, namely, the first four from Smyrna and the remaining three from Alexandria Troas before taking ship for Europe.

The Seven Genuine Epistles.

Shorter Recension.

I. *To the Ephesians.*

i. Unto the church which is in Ephesus of Asia, worthy of all felicitation . . . abundant greeting in Christ Jesus and in blameless joy.

Seeing then that in God's name I have received your whole multitude in the person of Onesimus . . . your bishop (in the flesh).

ii. My fellow-servant (σύνδουλος) Burrhus, who, by the will of God, is your deacon, blessed in all things. . . . It is therefore meet for you in every way to glorify Jesus Christ Who glorified you; that, being perfectly joined together in one submission, submitting yourselves to your bishop and presbytery, ye may be sanctified in all things.

iii. Therefore was I forward to exhort you, that ye run in harmony with the mind of God: for Jesus Christ also our inseparable life, is the mind of the Father, even as the bishops that are settled in the farthest parts of the earth are in the mind of Jesus Christ.

iv. So then it becometh you to run in harmony with the mind of the bishop; which thing also ye do. For your honourable presbytery, which is worthy of God, is attuned to the bishop, even as its strings to a lyre. Therefore in your concord and harmonious love Jesus Christ is sung. And do ye, each and all

of you, form yourselves into a chorus, that being harmonious in concord, and taking the key-note of God, ye may in unison sing with one voice through Jesus Christ unto the Father, that He may both hear you and acknowledge you by your good deeds to be members of His Son. It is therefore profitable for you to be in blameless unity, that ye may also be partakers of God always.

v. For if I in a short time had such converse with your bishop, which was not after the manner of men, but in the Spirit, how much more do I congratulate you who are closely joined with him as the Church is with Jesus Christ, and as Jesus Christ is with the Father, that all things may be harmonious in unity. Let no man be deceived. If any one be not within the precinct of the altar (*μή τις ἦ ἐντὸς τοῦ θυσιαστήριου*), he lacketh the bread (of God). For if the prayer of one and another hath so great force, how much more that of the bishop and of the whole Church. Whosoever therefore cometh not to the congregation (*ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ, i.e. θυσιαστήριον*) he doth thereby show his pride and hath separated himself; for it is written, God resisteth the proud. Let us therefore be careful not to resist the bishop, that by our submission we may give ourselves to God.

[*Θυσιαστήριον* denotes the precinct of the altar, the court of the congregation, and so the assembly of the Church, the Church of Christ where prayer is the spiritual sacrifice offered.

The "bread" may refer to the eucharistic bread, which, however, does not exhaust the meaning of the reference; the thought is rather of Christ as the Bread of Life to His people than any limited reference to the Eucharist. See Lightfoot *in loco.*]

vi. Every one whom the Master of the household sendeth to be steward over His own house, we ought so to receive as Him that sent him. Plainly, therefore, we ought to regard the bishop as the Lord Himself.

ix. So then ye are all companions in the way, carrying your God and your shrine, your Christ and your holy things, being arrayed from head to foot in the commandments of Jesus Christ. [The reference here is to a heathen festive procession, in which each person bore some sacred vessel or emblem, the statue of a god, or the model of a shrine; such processions were common at Ephesus. The Christian's body is the shrine of the Spirit, and his obedience to the commandments of Jesus Christ is his festive dress.]

xx. Assemble yourselves together in common, every one of you severally, man by man, in grace, in one faith, and one Jesus Christ. . . . to the end that ye may obey the bishop and the presbytery without distraction of mind; breaking one bread, which is the medicine of immortality and the antidote that we should not die but live for ever in Jesus Christ.

Notes.

1. The three orders of Bishop, Presbytery associated with the bishop, and Deacon are recognised. The bishops and deacons have a common basis of ministry; they are σύνδουλοι, a term applied by Ignatius to deacons. The bishop is so identified with the Church, that to receive him is to receive the whole Church.

2. The mind of God, as revealed in the mind of Christ, and found in the mind of the bishop, is the spiritual bond of unity in which the Church is to live as the outcome of each man's participation in grace, in one faith, and in one Jesus Christ; thus the Church is sanctified and proof is given to God that its members are members of His Son. Submission to the bishop is the means whereby we may give ourselves to God.

3. The bishop is the steward of the Master of the whole household, and is to be received as the Master Himself; union with the bishop is a reflection of the union of the Church with Jesus Christ, and of the union of Jesus Christ with the Father.

4. The bishop and the presbytery are as the lyre and its strings, and the whole multitude of the Church is to be as the band or chorus; the key-note is God; the song which all are to sing in unison with one voice, is Jesus Christ.

5. Fellowship in the Church thus constituted in

the bishop and presbytery is the condition of Divine sustenance; whosoever does not assemble with the congregation in this spirit of unity with the bishop and presbytery, lacks the one bread (*i.e.* Christ), and by his pride separates himself from the spiritual sustenance of his eternal life in Christ, and from the fruits of effectual united prayer.

6. The Epistle opens with a greeting like that at the commencement of the Epistle of S. James.

II. *To the Magnesians.*

ii. Forasmuch then as I was permitted to see you in the person of Damas, your godly bishop, and your worthy presbyters, Bassus and Apollonius, and my fellow-servant (συνδούλου) the deacon Sotio, of whom I would fain have joy, for that he is subject to the bishop as unto the grace of God, and to the presbytery as unto the law of Jesus Christ.

iii. Yea, and it becometh you also not to presume upon the youth of your bishop, but according to the power of God the Father to render unto him all reverence, even as I have learned that the holy presbyters also have not taken advantage of his outwardly youthful estate, but give place to him as to one prudent in God; yet not to him, but to the Father of Jesus Christ, even to the Bishop of all. . . . For a man doth not so much deceive this bishop who is seen, as cheat that Other Who is invisible.

iv. It is therefore meet that we be not only called Christians, but also be such; even as some persons have the bishop's name on their lips, but in everything act apart from him. Such men appear to me not to keep a good conscience forasmuch as they do not assemble themselves together lawfully according to the commandment.

vi. I advise you, be ye zealous to do all things in godly concord, the bishop presiding after the likeness of God, and the presbyters after the likeness of the council of the Apostles, with the deacons also, who are most dear to me, having been entrusted with the diaconate of Jesus Christ . . . be ye united with the bishop and with them that preside over you.

vii. Therefore, as the Lord did nothing without the Father (being united with Him), either by Himself or by the Apostles, so neither do ye anything without the bishop and the presbyters. And attempt not to think anything right for yourselves apart from others, but let there be one prayer in common, one supplication, one mind, one hope, in love and in joy unblameable, which is Jesus Christ, than Whom there is nothing better. Hasten to come together all of you, as to one temple, even God; as to one altar (*θυσιαστήριον*), even to one Jesus Christ, Who came forth from One Father, and is with One, and departed unto One.

x. It is monstrous to talk of Jesus Christ and to practise Judaism. For Christianity did not believe

in Judaism, but Judaism in Christianity. (Cf. Philadelphians, chap. vi.)

xiii. Do your diligence therefore that ye be confirmed in the ordinances of the Lord and of the Apostles, that ye may prosper in all things whatsoever ye do in flesh and spirit, by faith and by love, in the Son and Father and in the Spirit, in the beginning and in the end, with your revered bishop, and with the fitly wreathed spiritual circlet of your presbytery, and with the deacons who walk after God. Be obedient to the bishop and to one another, as Jesus Christ was to the Father (according to the flesh), and as the Apostles were to Christ and to the Father, that there may be union both of flesh and of spirit.

Notes.

1. The three orders are distinct each from other, and together are so representative of the Church that to receive these officers who are after the ordinances of the Lord and His Apostles, is to receive the whole Church.

2. The deacon is subject to the bishop and the presbytery, and the presbyters to the bishop; this subjection is as to God and His grace as represented by the bishop, to the law of Christ as represented by the presbytery, and to the ministry of Christ as represented by the deacons.

3. The bishop in his chair represents the authority

of God, and is to be obeyed as Christ obeyed the Father, and as the Apostles obeyed the Father and the Son.

4. To act, and to assemble together, apart from the bishop is to do violence to conscience and to assemble unlawfully.

5. The Christian assembly duly constituted with the three orders in due subordination is in the presence of God and of Jesus Christ, and so to assemble is the condition of prosperity.

6. The Judaising of Christianity is an anachronism and contradiction—a reversal of the relationships of Judaism and Christianity. (The reference is especially to the observance of the Sabbath instead of the Lord's Day, but the principle enunciated is applicable to all other forms of Judaising Christianity.)

7. The epistle, like that to the Ephesians, opens with a greeting after the manner of S. James.

III. *To the Trallians.*

ii. When ye are obedient to the bishop as to Jesus Christ, it is evident to me that ye are living not after men but after Jesus Christ. It is therefore necessary, even as your wont is, that ye should do nothing without the bishop; but be ye obedient also to the presbytery, as to the Apostles of Jesus Christ. And those likewise who are deacons of the mysteries of Jesus Christ must please all men in all ways. For they are not deacons of meats and drinks, but servants (ὑπηρέται) of the Church of God.

iii. In like manner let all men respect the deacons as Jesus Christ, even as they should respect the bishop as being a type of the Father, and the presbyters as the council of God, and as the College of the Apostles. Apart from these there is not even the name of a church.

vii. Be ye therefore on your guard against such men (teachers of heresy). And this will surely be if ye be not puffed up and if ye be inseparable from (God) Jesus Christ and from the bishop and from the ordinances of the Apostles. He that is within the sanctuary (θυσιαστήριον) is clean; but he that is without the sanctuary is not clean, that is, he that doeth aught without the bishop and presbytery and deacons, this man is not clean in his conscience.

xiii. Fare ye well in Jesus Christ, submitting yourselves to the bishop as to the commandment, and likewise also to the presbytery; and each of you severally love one another with undivided heart.

Notes.

1. The three orders are so distinct that while obedience to the bishop is commended as already existent, obedience to the presbyters and to the deacons severally needs to be enjoined.

2. There is no true assembling of the Church otherwise than as constituted with the three orders, and he who acts apart violates conscience and cuts himself off from the Church.

3. Faithfulness to God is associated with faithfulness to the bishop as the safeguard against heresy (Docetic), and obedience to the bishop is the test of Christian living.

4. Respect and submission to those in office is to be won by the conduct of those in office. This is in harmony with the reference in Clement's Letter (c. 44, see p. 16) to the good report and unblameable and holy ministrations of the presbyters, as entering into the reason why they could not be lawfully deposed. The reference there is to the Godward aspect of their ministry; here it is to the behaviour of those in office toward their fellow Christians.

5. Diaconate service is not restricted to serving tables.

6. This epistle, like those to the Ephesians and to the Magnesians, opens with a greeting after the manner of S. James, which Ignatius refers to as "after the Apostolic fashion."

IV. *To the Romans.*

Address.—To the Church . . . that hath the presidency (προκάθηται) in the country of the region of the Romans (ἐν τόπῳ χωρίου) being worthy of God, worthy of honour . . . and having the presidency (προκαθημένη) of love (*i.e.* of deeds of charity), walking in the law of Christ and bearing the Father's name.

ii. Nay, grant me nothing more than that I be

poured out a libation to God, while there is still an altar (*θυσιαστήριον*) ready; that forming yourselves into a chorus in love ye may sing to the Father in Jesus Christ, for that God hath vouchsafed that the bishop from Syria should be found in the West, having summoned him from the East. It is good to be set from the world unto God, that I may rise unto Him.

ix. Remember in your prayers the Church which is in Syria, which hath God for its Shepherd in my stead. Jesus Christ alone shall be its Bishop—He and your love.

Notes.

1. There is no reference to any Church officers at Rome, though Ignatius speaks of himself as a bishop, and remarks that the Church which is in Syria is deprived of its bishop. As explanatory of this omission it has been suggested that probably this concentration of Church government, though recognised in Asia Minor and Syria, had not yet passed into Europe. From the following considerations it would however appear that the absence of reference to Church officers at Rome in this letter affords no sufficient ground for the conclusion that they did not exist:—

(1) In the salutations of the Letters to the Ephesians, Magnesians, Trallians and Smyrnæans, there is no reference to any church officers of these Churches, though with the letter to the last mentioned another letter is sent to the Bishop of Smyrna. Apart from

the subject-matter of the letters being such as to give use to such references, a natural place for such references would be in the salutation. (2) The subject-matter of these other letters is such as to lead to a reference to Church officers; heresy and division is the connection in the Ignatian letters in which such references are consistently found: there is no reference to heresy and division in the letter to the Romans, its absorbing topic is the approaching martyrdom of the writer. (3) The letters to the Ephesians, Magnesians, Trallians, Philadelphians and Smyrnæans bear internal testimony that either through the visits of Ignatius to these Churches, or the coming of deputations from them to him, he was acquainted with such a condition of Church life among them as led him to refer to the relationship of the Churches to their officers. There is no indication of such knowledge concerning the Church at Rome, and if he had such information, reference to it was lost in anxiety lest, in mistaken kindness, they should endeavour to prevent his martyrdom so speedily anticipated in their city.

2. The presidency of the Roman Church (not bishop) is a local presidency only, and is based not on pre-eminence of Apostolic foundation, but solely on worthiness of character.

"The idea of the *Cathedra Petri* has no place here" (Lightfoot).

3. The epistle opens with a greeting like that of the epistles to the Ephesians, Magnesians, Trallians, Smyrnæans, and to Polycarp, after the manner of S. James.

V. *To the Philadelphians.*

Address.—Which Church I salute . . . more especially if they be at one with the bishop and the presbyters who are with him and with the deacons that have been appointed (ἀποδεδειγμένοις) according to the mind of Jesus Christ, whom after His own will He confirmed and established by His Holy Spirit.

i. Your bishop I have found to hold the ministry which pertaineth to the common weal, not of himself, or through men, nor yet for vain glory, but in the love of God the Father and the Lord Jesus Christ, . . . He is attuned in harmony with the commandments, as a lyre with its strings.

ii. Where the shepherd is, there follow ye as sheep. . . . When ye are at one, they (specious wolves) will find no place.

iii. As many as are of God and of Jesus Christ, they are with the bishop; and as many as shall repent and enter into the unity of the Church, these also shall be of God, that they may be living after Jesus Christ. . . . If any man followeth one that maketh a schism, he doth not inherit the kingdom of God.

iv. Be ye careful therefore to observe one eucharist

(for there is one flesh of our Lord Jesus Christ and one cup unto union in His blood; there is one altar (*θυσιαστήριον*), as there is one bishop, together with the presbytery and the deacons my fellow-servants) that whatsoever ye do, ye may do it after God.

v. That I may attain unto the inheritance wherein I have found mercy, taking refuge in the Gospel as the flesh of Jesus and in the Apostles as the presbytery of the Church.

vi. But if any one propound Judaism unto you, hear him not: for it is better to hear Christianity from a man who is circumcised, than Judaism from one uncircumcised.

vii. I cried out, when I was among you; I spake with a loud voice, with God's own voice, Give ye heed to the bishop and the presbytery and the deacons. Howbeit there were those who suspected me of saying this, because I knew beforehand of the division of certain persons. But He in Whom I am bound is my witness that I learned it not from flesh of man: it was the preaching of the Spirit who spake on this wise: Do nothing without the bishop; keep your flesh as a temple of God; cherish union; shun divisions; be imitators of Jesus Christ, as He Himself also was of His Father.

viii. The Lord forgiveth all men when they repent, if repenting they return to the unity of God and to the council of the bishop.

ix. The priests likewise were good, but better is

the High Priest to Whom is committed the holy of holies; for to Him alone are committed the hidden things of God, He Himself being the door of the Father through which Abraham and Isaac and Jacob enter in, and the Prophets and the Apostles and the whole Church; all these things combine in the unity of God.

x. Seeing that the Church which is in Antioch of Syria hath peace, it is becoming for you as a Church of God to elect (χειροτονῆσαι) a deacon to go thither as God's ambassador, that he may congratulate them when they are assembled together, and may glorify the Name. Blessed in Jesus Christ is he that shall be counted worthy of such a ministration; and ye yourselves shall be glorified. Now if ye desire it, it is not impossible for you to do this for the name of God, even as the Churches which are nearest have sent bishops, and others presbyters and deacons.

Notes.

1. The three orders are appointed by Jesus Christ, and confirmed and established by the Holy Spirit. Insistence by Ignatius on the authority of the three orders in the constitution of the Church was due, not to any temporary expediency, nor was it suggested by man, but was the result of a revelation to him by the Spirit.

2. The Bishop's ministry neither originates in

himself, nor is conferred by man (cf. Gal. i. 1); he is himself in harmony with the commandments as a lyre with its strings.

3. Union with the bishop is the safeguard against heresy, the symbol of Church unity, and the condition of Christian living and of inheritance of the kingdom of God; it is identified with union with God and with Jesus Christ.

4. As the "Gospel" presents a real Christ (as the Head of the Church), so the presbytery (the organised ministry of the Church) is founded in the "Apostles" (Apostolic writings).

5. The Eucharist is indissolubly associated with the three orders of Church constitution: there is one Eucharist as there is one Christ and one Church.

6. The seal of the repentance which secures forgiveness is a return to the unity of the Church as Divinely constituted with the bishop and his council.

7. The Jewish priesthood, good in its day, is superseded by the better High Priesthood of Christ Who is the door of the Father alike in the Old Testament dispensation and the New.

8. It is competent to the Churches to send out their officers on special embassies (see also Smyr. xi.; Polycarp vii.).

9. This Epistle affords the earliest illustration of the definite and direct use of the term *Εὐχαριστία* for the Lord's Supper.

VI. *To the Smyrnæans.*

viii. Shun divisions as the beginning of evils. Do ye all follow your bishop, as Jesus Christ followed the Father, and the presbytery as the Apostles; and to the deacons pay respect as to the commandment (of which they are the mouthpieces). Let no man do aught of things pertaining to the Church apart from the bishop. Let that be held a valid Eucharist which is under the bishop, or one to whom he shall have committed it. Whensoever the bishop shall appear, there let the people be; even as where Jesus Christ may be, there is the universal (καθολικὴ) Church. It is not lawful apart from the bishop either to baptise or to hold a love-feast; but whatsoever he shall approve, this is well-pleasing also to God; that everything which ye do may be sure and valid (ἀσφαλὲς καὶ βέβαιον).

ix. It is good to recognise God and the bishop. He that honoureth the bishop is honoured of God; he that doeth aught without the knowledge of the bishop rendereth service (λατρεύει) to the devil.

xii. I salute your godly bishop and your venerable presbytery (and) my fellow servants the deacons. Grace to you, mercy, peace, patience, always.

Notes.

1. The three orders are recognised; they are a centre, division from which is the beginning of evils.

2. The bishop is to be followed as Jesus Christ followed the Father, the presbytery are to be followed as the Apostles, and respect is to be paid to the deacons as to the commandments of which they are the mouthpieces.

3. As Jesus Christ is the centre of the Church Universal, so the bishop is the centre of the particular Church, and the people are to gather together where he is.

4. Nothing pertaining to the Church is to be done apart from the bishop, for this is to render homage to the devil: baptism and love-feasts are unlawful apart from him: only when the Eucharist is celebrated under the bishop, or some one appointed by him, is it valid: his presence is the guarantee that what is done is pleasing to God, sure and valid. The recognition of God is associated with recognition of the bishop.

5. The epistle opens with a greeting like that of the epistles to the Ephesians, Magnesians and Trallians, after the manner of S. James, and closes with a blessing, amplified according to circumstances, like that of the Apostolic epistles.

The terms "sure and valid" in this epistle express the idea of Divine authority and doctrinal purity; they convey no idea of grace communicated to the Sacraments through the person of the bishop or his representative (cf. Rom. iv. 16; Heb. ii. 2; ix. 17). "Catholic" denotes the one Church of

all localities in distinction from a Church of one locality. The bishop is a local officer as accessible as a modern vicar (Lightfoot).

VII. *To Polycarp.*

Address.—Unto Polycarp who is bishop of the Church of the Smyrnæans.

i. Have a care for union, than which there is nothing better.

iv. Let nothing be done without thy consent; neither do thou anything without the consent of God, as indeed thou doest not.

vi. Give ye heed to the bishop, that God also may give heed to you. I am devoted to those who are subject to the bishop, the presbyters, the deacons. Toil together with one another, struggle together, run together, suffer together, lie down together, rise up together, as God's stewards (οἰκονόμοι) and assessors (πάρεδροι) and ministers (ὑπηρέται) (cf. Titus i. 7; 1 Cor. iv. 1; 1 Peter iv. 10).

Notes.

1. The three orders are recognised as the centre of unity.

2. As the Church is to do nothing without the consent of the bishop, so the bishop is to do nothing without the consent of God.

3. All the members of the Church are to exercise their ministry as God's stewards, assessors, and ministers.

4. The care of the widows is the duty of the bishop.

5 The epistle opens with a greeting like that of the epistles to the Ephesians, Magnesians, Trallians and Smyrnæans, after the manner of S. James.

Summary of the views held and taught by S. Ignatius as evidenced by the Seven Genuine Epistles.

1. The three orders were appointed by Jesus Christ, and confirmed and established by the Holy Spirit; in due subordination of relationship one to another they represent the Church, and are the centre of unity.

2. The bishop derives his office not from himself or from man, but from God the Father and the Lord Jesus Christ Whom he represents, and as Whom he is to be received; he is God's Steward, and in him, as having the mind of God, the unity of the Church consists. He represents and embodies the Church, and there is no Church apart from him. He is the centre of the local Church as Jesus Christ is of the universal Church. Baptism, love-feasts including the Eucharist, are valid only as under his direction, his direction being the pledge of Divine authority and doctrinal purity. The widows are in his care. Nothing is to be done pertaining to the Church without him, and he is to do nothing without the consent of God.

3. The presbytery in harmonious accord with the

bishop is Divinely constituted in the Church, outside of which, thus constituted, there is no spiritual sustenance, no true Eucharist, no share in the efficacy of prayer. The presbytery represents the Apostles.

4. Deacons are to win, by their conduct and behaviour to the Church, the respect that is due to them ; their service is not restricted to serving tables. They represent the ministry and commandments of Christ.

5. The Church constituted with the three orders is in the Divine presence ; union with it is the condition of prosperity and test of repentance. Every member is a steward, assessor, and minister of God.

"The local Church is regarded not as one element of a catholic confederacy, but as the local representative of the one Divine and catholic society" (Gore, "Ephesians," p. 268).

6. Jewish priesthood and Judaism generally have been superseded by Christ, the better High Priest, and by Christianity.

7. Five out of the seven epistles open with a greeting like that of S. James, and one (Smyrnæans) closes with a blessing according to the Apostolic fashion.

Confirmation.—The three orders Divinely appointed, and presidential. The life-sustaining and eucharistic character of the Lord's Supper.

Development.—The bishop represents on the one

side, God and Christ, and on the other, the Church over which he presides. The bishop's presence is essential to the lawful assemblage of the Church, and to the validity of baptism and the Eucharist. Faithfulness to the bishop is the safeguard against heresy; nothing is to be done without him. Spiritual nourishment is to be found only in unity with the Church as constituted with the bishop and presbytery; nothing is to be done without them. Apart from the three orders there is not even the name of a Church.

The claims made on behalf of bishops in the Ignatian letters must be regarded in reference to their position as representing in their own persons the Apostolic Tradition of the Faith in the absence of the possession by their people of the Scriptures of the New Testament. As the living depositaries of the truths of the Christian Revelation, so far as they faithfully preserved and faithfully taught the truths, they were the actual and the only mouthpieces of God to the new age. (Cf. Origen, pp. 143, 144.)

3. *S. Polycarp.*

ASIA MINOR AND PHILIPPI, A.D. 110.

S. Polycarp, Bishop of Smyrna, was born about A.D. 69, and suffered martyrdom in the reign of Antoninus Pius, about A.D. 155. In the earliest authentic notice of his life he is resident in Proconsular Asia, where

S. John lived and taught for more then a quarter of a century after the destruction of Jerusalem ; S. John here gathered his disciples about him, ordained bishops and presbyters, founded new churches, making Ephesus his headquarters, but visiting the neighbouring districts as occasion required. Of this circle of disciples Polycarp was the most famous ; he was about 30 years old when S. John died (*c.* A.D. 100) and is said by Irenæus and Tertullian to have received from S. John his appointment as Bishop of Smyrna. Polycarp was a contemporary of Clement of Rome, Ignatius, and Papias, had personal intercourse probably with Papias, and certainly with Ignatius, who charged him to write to the churches eastward of Troas and instruct them to send letters and delegates to Antioch ; Polycarp was thus brought into correspondence with the Philippians, to whom he wrote his epistle.

Asia Minor continued to be the focus of activity in the Christian Church during the remainder of the second century. Melito, Claudius, Apollinaris, Polycrates, Justin Martyr, and Clement of Alexandria—all probably came under Polycarp's influence, and Irenæus and Florinus were students together under him. Polycarp was thus a disciple of S. John, a companion of Ignatius and master to Irenæus. When Polycarp visited Anicetus at Rome he may have fallen in with Eleutherus, Hermas, Hegisippus, and Justin Martyr, and have witnessed the influence of Cerdon,

the forerunner of Marcion, Marcion himself, Valentinus, Marcellina a disciple of Capocrates, and Tatian. With the martyrdom of Polycarp, a few months after this visit to Rome, the sufferings of the Christians ceased for a time.

As the pupil of S. John and the teacher of Irenæus, Polycarp is a link, through five or six generations, between the times of the earthly life of Christ and the end of the second century, at which latter date may be seen, from the writings of Irenæus, how full was the teaching of the Church, how complete its canon, how adequate its organisation, and how wide its extension.

The only extant writing bearing the name of Polycarp, which has any reasonable claim to genuineness, is the Epistle to the Philippians, written probably more than forty years before his death.

Epistle of S. Polycarp to the Philippians.

Address.—Polycarp and the presbyters that are with him unto the Church of God which sojourneth at Philippi; mercy unto you and peace from God Almighty and Jesus Christ our Saviour be multiplied.

iv. Our widows must be soberminded as touching the faith of the Lord, making intercession without ceasing for all men, abstaining from all calumny, evil speaking, false witness, love of money, and every evil thing, knowing that they are God's altar (*θυσιαστήριον*), and that all (*πάντα*) [sacrifices] are

carefully inspected and nothing escapeth Him either of their thoughts or intents or any of the secret things of the heart.

v. In like manner deacons should be blameless in the presence of His righteousness, as deacons of God and Christ, and not of men; not calumniators, not double-tongued, not lovers of money, temperate in all things, compassionate, diligent, walking according to the truth of the Lord Who became a minister (διάκονος) of all. . . . It is right to abstain from all these things [lusts in the world], submitting yourselves to the presbyters and deacons as to God and Christ.

vi. And the presbyters also must be compassionate, merciful towards all men, turning back the sheep that are gone astray, visiting all the infirm, not neglecting a widow, or an orphan, or a poor man, abstaining from all anger, respect of persons, unrighteous judgment, being far from all love of money, not quick to believe anything against any man, not hasty in judgment, knowing that we are all debtors to sin.

xi. I was exceedingly grieved for Valens, who aforetime was a presbyter among you, because he is so ignorant of the office (locum, τόπον) which was given unto him. I warn you, therefore, that ye refrain from covetousness, and that ye be pure and truthful. . . . I am exceedingly grieved for him and his wife, unto whom may the Lord grant true repentance.

xii. I am persuaded that ye are well trained in

the sacred Scriptures, and nothing is hidden from you. . . . Now may the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the Eternal High Priest Himself, the God Jesus Christ, build you up in faith and truth, and in all gentleness, and in all avoidance of wrath, and in forbearance and long suffering, and in patient endurance, and in purity; and may He grant unto you a lot and portion among His saints, and to us with you, and to all that are under heaven who shall believe on our Lord and God Jesus Christ, and in His Father that raised Him from the dead. Pray for all the saints. Pray also for kings and powers and princes, and for them that persecute and hate you, and for the enemies of the Cross, that your fruit may be manifest among all men, that ye may be perfect in Him.

Notes.

1. The three orders are recognised in the person of the writer and in his epistle. In the letter of the Smyrnæans, giving an account of Polycarp's martyrdom, written within a few months of that event, he is referred to as "the glorious martyr Polycarp, who was found an apostolic and prophetic teacher in our own time, a bishop of the holy Church which is in Smyrna." Polycarp in his epistle refers in detail to deacons and presbyters, and in the opening words speaks of himself as "Polycarp and the presbyters who are associated with him," implying

that the position held by him was distinct from, yet associated with, the presbyters.

2. Polycarp makes no reference to bishops as distinct from presbyters at Philippi. S. Paul in the address of his epistle to this same Church of the Philippians refers to the bishops (plural) and deacons there, and in S. Paul's use the terms bishop and presbyter were interchangeable: it may be that in this epistle Polycarp's use corresponds with S. Paul's; or it may be that he did not see fit in referring either to the character and duties proper to them, or the allegiance due to them, to distinguish between bishops and presbyters, though the offices may have been in his time distinct in the Church of Philippi; or again it may be that when Polycarp wrote the office of bishop was vacant. The duties to which Polycarp refers are of that pastoral character which belonged to presbyter-bishops, and in this he is also in harmony with S. Paul's references.

3. The widows are said to be God's altar, and their intercessions, life, fruits of character and their very thoughts are apparently the sacrifices which they offer as upon the altar of themselves; these sacrifices are to be such as are acceptable to Him Who searches into the thoughts, intents and secret things of the heart, as the Jewish priests inspected the offerings brought. These widows are spoken of as if constituting a viduate order like those of deacons and presbyters, and there appear to pertain to them some

functions of teaching; as touching the faith of the Lord they are to be soberminded (σωφρονούσας).

4. Widows, orphans, and the poor are referred to as the charge, not of deacons, but of presbyters.

5. The Apostolic writings are spoken of as sacred Scriptures (sacris literis, ἱεραῖς γραφαῖς) in which the Philippians are well trained.

6. The address and chapter xii. furnish instances of Blessing after the Apostolic fashion.

Confirmation—The three orders.

4. *The Epistle of Barnabas.*

ALEXANDRIA, A.D. 75–100.

This epistle, which is probably of Alexandrian origin, was written not long after the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus. Lightfoot places it A.D. 70–79. In any case, it is not later than the middle of the second century, probably not later than the end of the first century. The tradition that identified the author with S. Barnabas the Apostle, is now generally discredited.

i. All hail, ye sons and daughters, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ Who loved us in peace . . . Since I began to speak among you I understand many things because the Lord hath accompanied me in the way of righteousness. . . . I, then, not as your teacher (doctor), but as one of yourselves, will set forth a few things by which in present circumstances ye may be rendered the more joyful.

ii. He has therefore abolished these things (sacrifices, burnt offerings, incense, new moons, and sabbaths) that the new law of our Lord Jesus Christ which is without the yoke of necessity might have a human oblation. . . . We ought, therefore, being possessed of understanding, to perceive the gracious intention of our Father; for He speaks to us, desirous that we, not going astray like them, should ask how we may approach Him. To us, then, He declares, "A sacrifice to God is a broken spirit; a smell of sweet savour to the Lord is a heart that glorifieth Him that made it." . . . We ought, therefore, brethren, carefully to inquire concerning our salvation, lest the wicked one, having made his entrance by deceit, should hurl us forth from our life.

iv. Do not, by retiring apart, live a solitary life, as if you were already justified; but coming together in one place, make common inquiry concerning what tends to your general welfare.

v. For to this end the Lord endured to deliver up His flesh to corruption, that we might be sanctified through the remission of sins which is effected by His blood of sprinkling. . . . When He chose His own Apostles who were to preach His Gospel (He did so from among those) who were sinners above all sin, that He might show He came not to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance.

vi. For, my brethren, the habitation of our heart is a holy temple to the Lord. (So xvi.—Having received

the forgiveness of sins and placed our trust in the name of the Lord, we have become new creatures, formed again from the beginning. Wherefore in our habitation God truly dwells in us.)

xv. Concerning the water indeed it is written in reference to the Israelites, that they should not receive that baptism which leads to the remission of sins, but should procure another for themselves. (So xi.—We indeed descend into the water full of sins and defilement, but come up bearing fruit in our heart, having the fear (of God) and trust of Jesus in our spirit.)

xix. Thou shalt love as the apple of thine eye every one that speaketh to thee the Word of the Lord.

xxi. I beseech you who are superiors (proceres, ὑπερέχοντας) . . . The Lord of glory and of all grace be with your spirit.

Notes.

1. Though there are references to the Apostles, baptism, the forgiveness of sins through the blood of sprinkling, spiritual renewal, the Church, teachers, those who speak the Word of the Lord, and superiors, there is nothing to determine the writer's view as to ministerial position and functions, or the constitution of the Church. Exhortation and endeavours after the salvation of others are spoken of as duties irrespective of office. The human oblation of a broken spirit offered by those who are sanctified through the

remission of sins effected by the blood of sprinkling, takes the place in the New Covenant of the sacrifices, burnt offerings, etc., of the Old Covenant. The temple of the Lord is the heart of those who are forgiven and renewed. The writer claims to have omitted none of those things which bear upon salvation (xvii.).

2. The epistle opens and closes with a greeting and a blessing after the Apostolic fashion.

Confirmation.—The character of Official Ministry as non-exclusive of unofficial teaching and exhortation. Though the reference to "superiors" may indicate an order of Ministers, the author while disclaiming any official position, writes as one accustomed unofficially to speak to his fellow-Christians the Word of the Lord according to his knowledge and experience of it.

5. *The Pastor of Hermas.*

ROME, A.D. 100–125.

The Pastor of Hermas was regarded as the work of one of the prophets in the Christian Church and was read in many churches in the latter part of the second century. Hermas was probably a brother of Pius, Bishop of Rome.

Vision ii. 2. You will tell therefore those who preside over the Church to direct their ways in righteousness.

4. You will read these words in the city along with the presbyters who preside over the Church.

iii. 5. Those square white stones which fit exactly into each other are apostles, bishops, teachers, and deacons who have lived in godly purity and have acted as bishops, and teachers, and deacons chastely and reverently to the elect of God.

9. Wherefore I now say to you who preside over the Church and love the first seats, take heed that these dissensions of yours do not deprive you of your life.

Similitude ix. 26. They who had the stains are deacons who discharged their duty ill, and who plundered widows and orphans of their livelihood and formed possessions for themselves from the ministry which they had received.

27. Bishops given to hospitality, . . . who never failed to protect by their service the widows and those who were in want.

Notes.

Evidence is here given of the existence of the three orders; of a plurality of presbyters who presided over the Church; perhaps of presbyters whose special function was that of teaching, since teachers are enumerated in the place of order usually given to presbyters—"bishops, teachers, and deacons;" and of strife among the presbyters for the first seats, in which there may be an indication of the rise of

episcopacy from the presbytery. Both bishops and deacons have the care of the poor, the latter being probably assistants of the bishops according to New Testament indications. Ἐπίσκοπος and πρεσβύτερος are used interchangeably.

Confirmation.—The three orders and the presidential character of Official Ministry.

6. *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles.*

NORTHERN PALESTINE AND EPHESUS, A.D. 100–150.

The manuscript of this treatise was discovered at Constantinople by Bryennius, Metropolitan of Serræ, in 1875 and published in 1883. The date of the manuscript is A.D. 1056; it bears the heading of "Teaching of the Twelve Apostles," followed by the fuller title of "Teaching of the Lord by the Twelve Apostles to the Gentiles."

The treatise probably emanated in the form given in this manuscript from Christian Jews who after the destruction of Jerusalem had their chief settlements on the east side of the Jordan. Dr. Taylor suggests Northern Palestine as the place of its origin and that it took its final form in the neighbourhood of Ephesus. He describes it as "a sort of Church Catechism, intensely Jewish." Its Jewish character indicates an origin in that primitive age when Christianity had

but just separated itself from Judaism. It represents an early though local form of primitive Christian life, probably of the latter part of the first century. It does not appear to have had much circulation or influence outside its birthplace.

In the work itself, the title "Apostle" is used in a very wide sense, so that the specification of the "Twelve Apostles" in the title is intended to show that the teaching was that of the Twelve whom also our Lord named Apostles. The title is evidently intended to describe the substance of the work, and not as asserting anything as to its direct authorship.

The term Διδαχή is used thirty times in the New Testament; in seventeen of these it is applied to the teaching of our Lord, and in six to that of the Apostles as derived from Him; other instances of its use have reference to the teaching of the Pharisees and Sadducees, of Balaam, of the Nicolaitanes, of strange teachers, etc. "Holding to the faithful word which is according to the teaching" (Tit. i. 9) is an illustrative New Testament use of the word with which its use in this document corresponds. The document is only a partial skeleton of the fuller tradition to which the word Διδαχή is applied in the New Testament, and was doubtless supplemented by oral instruction.

It is at once of so Judaistic an origin, so restricted in its Judaic-Christian use, and, as compared with

New Testament teaching, of so meagre a character, that its evidence as to recognised Christian life and practice, while of real interest, is far from conclusive on any of the points raised by it. From the standpoint of the New Testament much needs to be read into it, and not a little to be read out of it. It represents opinion in a state of transition, *growing* from Judaism into Christianity under the influence of "Apostles" (in a secondary sense), prophets and teachers (missionary and non-local), whose teaching was either in itself imperfect or was imperfectly understood and received, *toward* the fulness of Christian doctrine and constitution under bishops and deacons.

Chap. iv. My child, him that proclaimeth unto thee the Word of God thou shalt remember night and day, and thou shalt honour him as the Lord; for whence the Lordship is proclaimed, there the Lord is.

In the congregation thou shalt confess thy transgressions; and thou shalt not come to thy prayer with an evil conscience.

vii. And as touching baptism, thus baptise ye. . . . [triple affusion unto the Name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost]. And before the baptism, let the baptiser and him that is to be baptised and such others as are able, first fast; but thou shalt bid him that is to be baptised fast one or two days before.

ix. And as touching the Thanksgiving (περὶ δὲ τῆς

εὐχαριστίας) thus give ye thanks: First, concerning the cup, We thank Thee, O our Father, for the holy vine of David Thy child, which Thou hast made known to us by Thy Child Jesus. . . . And concerning the broken bread, we thank Thee, O our Father, for the life and knowledge which Thou hast made known to us by Thy Child Jesus. . . . As this broken bread was once scattered [in grains] upon the mountains, and being gathered together, became one ; so let Thy Church be gathered together from the ends of the earth unto Thy Kingdom. . . . And let none eat or drink of your Thanksgiving but such as have been baptised in the name of the Lord ; for concerning this the Lord hath said, Give not that which is holy to the dogs.

x. And after being filled, thus give ye thanks: We thank Thee, holy Father, for Thy holy name which Thou hast made to dwell in our hearts, and for the knowledge and faith and immortality which Thou hast made known to us by Thy Child Jesus. . . . Thou, O Almighty Sovereign, didst create all things for Thy name's sake, and gavest men food and drink to enjoy, that they might give thanks unto Thee ; but to us Thou didst graciously give spiritual food and drink and life eternal, through Thy Child. . . . Remember, O Lord, Thy Church, to deliver her from all evil and to perfect her in Thy love ; and gather her together from the four winds, her that is sanctified unto Thy Kingdom which Thou didst prepare for

her. . . . If any is holy, let him come; if any is not, let him repent. Maranatha. Amen. But suffer ye the prophets to give thanks as pleaseth them.

xi. Whosoever therefore shall come and teach you all these things aforesaid, receive ye him. But if he that teacheth, being himself perverted, teach other doctrine to the annulling thereof, hearken not to him; but if to the increase of righteousness and knowledge of the Lord, receive ye him as the Lord.

xiii. Every firstfruit, therefore, of the produce of press and floor, of oxen and sheep, thou shalt take and give to the prophets; for they are your chief priests (οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς ὑμῶν). And if ye have not a prophet, give to the poor.

xiv. And on each Lord's day of the Lord be ye gathered together and break bread and give thanks, after confessing your transgressions, that our sacrifice may be pure. And let none that hath a difference with his fellow come together with you until they be reconciled, that our sacrifice be not defiled. For this is that which was spoken by the Lord, In every place and time offer Me a pure sacrifice. For I am a great King, saith the Lord, and My Name wonderful among the Gentiles.

xv. Elect (χειροτονήσατε) therefore unto yourselves bishops and deacons worthy of the Lord; men meek and not loving money, and truthful, and approved; for unto you do they too minister (λειτουργοῦσι) the ministry (λειτουργίαν) of the prophets and teachers.

Despise them not, therefore; for they are they that are set in honour among you with the prophets and teachers.

Notes.

1. In connection with injunctions for the right participation in the breaking of bread and giving thanks, the election of bishops and deacons is enjoined: it is a natural conclusion from this association that the celebration of the Eucharist pertained to the care of these officials.

2. In this injunction to elect bishops and deacons there is no reference to their being appointed, according to the Apostolic tradition, by those who had been commissioned to ordain; such ordination is not however necessarily excluded, since reference is made to the visits of those who were in a secondary sense "Apostles" and to whom the commission to ordain would probably have been apostolically entrusted. Cf. Clem. R., xlii.–xliv., where it is said that the Apostles not only appointed their firstfruits to be bishops and deacons, but also made permanent provision for the appointment of other *approved* men in succession to these.

3. Apostles, prophets and accredited (ἀληθινός) teachers stand in a different relation to the community than that of teachers not so accredited. The former have an independent authority due to their direct inspiration, and are non-resident; of the latter

the teachers are to be tested by the faithfulness of their teaching to that already received; the bishops and deacons are resident, and their work, in addition to the care of the celebration of the Eucharist and of discipline, would be that of administering the doctrine and order already received. With the rareness and subsequent cessation of the visits of apostles and prophets, this administration would become increasingly prominent and important; in this sense they rendered the service of prophets and teachers, and were to be treated with the same honour; all who proclaimed the Word of the Lord were to be received as the Lord.

4. The prophets were to receive the firstfruits of the community in which they settled, as the Jews had been wont to render dues to the high priest; they stood in this matter in the same relationship to the Christian community as the high priest did to the Jews—"They are your high priests."

5. The breaking of bread and giving thanks is spoken of as "our sacrifice."

Confirmation.—Official Ministry of bishops and deacons, as presidential and administrative of the received tradition which became Scripture. The Lord's Supper as spiritual, commemorative and Eucharistic.

Development.—The prophets become increasingly distinct as a class who are to be supported

by the Christian community, being, in that respect, likened to the high priests of the Old Covenant. These inspired prophets were succeeded by bishops and deacons administering the received tradition, and similarly regarded as a class.

The direction to the Christian community to elect (χειροτονέω) officers, was probably with a view to ordination (καθίστημι). Cf. Acts vi. 3: "Look ye out," etc., where ἐπισκέψασθε is the equivalent of χειροτονήσατε and is followed by καταστήσομεν.

Variation.—The breaking of bread and giving thanks is called "our sacrifice."

THE APOLOGISTS, AND MINOR WRITINGS.

7. *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs.*

PALESTINE, A.D. *c.* 100.

This apocryphal work professes to record the last dying utterances of the twelve sons of Jacob to their children. It furnishes an instance of the tendency in early Christian times to connect writings of a more or less apocalyptic character with Old Testament rather than New Testament names. It is the work of a Jewish Christian, writing for Jews, aiming at their conversion to the Christian faith. It belongs to

the end of the first century or the beginning of the second.

Reuben.

6. Therefore I command you to hearken unto Levi, because he shall know the law of the Lord, and shall give ordinances for judgment and sacrifice for all Israel until the completion of the times of Christ, the High Priest Whom the Lord hath declared.

Simeon.

7. And now my children, obey Levi, and in Judah shall ye be redeemed; and be not lifted up against these two tribes, for from them shall arise to you the salvation of God. For the Lord shall raise up from Levi as it were a priest, and from Judah as it were a king, God and man. So shall He save all the Gentiles and the race of Israel.

Levi.

3. In the heaven next to it (the fourth) are the angels of the presence of the Lord, who minister and make propitiation to the Lord for all the ignorances of the righteous, and they offer to the Lord a reasonable sweet-smelling savour, and a bloodless offering.

5. And He (the Most High) said to me, Levi, I have given thee the blessings of the priesthood

until that I shall come and sojourn in the midst of Israel.

8. I saw seven men in white raiment, saying to me, Arise, put on the robe of the priesthood, and the crown of righteousness. . . . And each one of them bearing each of these things put them on me, and said, From henceforth become a priest of the Lord, thou and thy seed for ever. And the first anointed me with holy oil, and gave to me the rod of judgment. The second washed me with pure water, and fed me with bread and wine, the most holy things, and clad me with a holy and glorious robe. The third clothed me with a linen vestment like to an ephod. . . . The seventh placed on my head a diadem of priesthood, and filled my hands with incense, so that I served as a priest to the Lord. And they said to me, Levi, thy seed shall be divided into three branches, for a sign of the glory of the Lord Who is to come ; and he that hath been faithful shall be first ; no portion shall be greater than his. The second shall be in the priesthood. The third, a new name shall be called over Him, because He shall arise as King, from Judah, and shall establish a new priesthood, after the fashion of the Gentiles, to all the Gentiles.

18. And after their punishment shall have come from the Lord, then will the Lord raise up to the priesthood a new Priest, to Whom all the words of the Lord shall be revealed ; and He shall execute a

judgment of truth upon the earth, in the fulness of days. . . . And the glory of the Lord shall be uttered over Him, and the spirit of understanding and of sanctification shall rest upon Him in the water. He shall give the majesty of the Lord to His sons in truth for evermore; and there shall none succeed Him for all generations, even for ever. [And in His Priesthood shall the Gentiles be multiplied in knowledge on the earth, and shall be enlightened through the grace of the Lord; but Israel shall be minished in ignorance, and be darkened in sorrow.] And in His Priesthood shall all sin come to an end, and the lawless shall rest from evil, and the just shall rest in Him. And He shall open the gates of paradise, and shall remove the threatening sword against Adam; and He shall give to His saints to eat from the tree of life, and the spirit of holiness shall be on them.

Benjamin.

3. Thus Jacob cried out, My child Joseph, . . . In thee shall be fulfilled the prophecy of heaven concerning the Lamb of God, even the Saviour of the world, that spotless shall He be delivered up for transgressors, and sinless shall He be put to death for ungodly men, in the blood of the covenant, for the salvation of the Gentiles and of Israel, and shall destroy Beliar and them that serve him.

Notes.

The teaching which the writer of these Testaments inculcates is, that the Levitical priesthood was to be until the times of Christ, the High Priest Whom the Lord hath declared; Who should establish a new priesthood after the fashion of the Gentiles, to all the Gentiles; who should never have any successor, and in Whose priesthood all sin should come to an end; Who should be the Lamb of God, the Saviour of the world, Who should be put to death in the blood of the covenant for the salvation of the Gentiles and of Israel.

According to him, therefore, the Levitical priesthood finds its fulfilment in Christ, in Whom its special function of offering propitiatory sacrifice comes to an end, for nowhere does He represent Christ as offering sacrifices as His predecessors had done, other than the sacrifice of Himself the Lamb of God put to death for ungodly men, the Saviour of the world.

Confirmation.—The priestly character of Official Ministry, since testimony is borne to the establishment of a new Priesthood to the Gentiles in Jesus Christ, Who fulfils in Himself the Priesthood of the Old Covenant, and Whose ministers partake of His own Priesthood so far as functions belonging to it are delegated to them.

8. *The Epistle to Diognetus.*

GREECE, A.D. 100–125.

The "Epistle" or Response to Diognetus is the work of an unknown author belonging to the early part of the second century, who speaking of himself (cap. xi.) says, "Having been a disciple of the Apostles, I am become a teacher of the Gentiles. I minister the things delivered to me to those that are disciples worthy of the truth." It has been suggested that Diognetus was the tutor of M. Aurelius. It is an apologetic address to a heathen.

i. Since I see thee, most excellent Diognetus, exceedingly desirous to learn the mode of worshipping God prevalent among the Christians, what God they trust in, and what form of religion they observe, so as all to look down on the world itself, and despise death, while they neither esteem those to be gods that are reckoned such by the Greeks, nor hold to the superstitions of the Jews . . .

iii. The Christians do not observe the same forms of worship as do the Jews. . . . Those who imagine that by means of blood, and the smoke of sacrifices and burnt offerings these offer sacrifices to Him, and that by such honours they show Him respect, these by supposing that they can give anything to Him Who stands in need of nothing, appear to me in no respect to differ from those who studiously confer the

same honour on things destitute of sense, and which therefore are unable to enjoy such honours.

v. The Christians are distinguished from other men neither by country, nor language, nor the customs which they observe, . . . but they display to us their wonderful and confessedly paradoxical method of life.

vii. The Creator of all things has sent from heaven and placed among men the truth and the holy and incomprehensible Word, and has firmly established Him in their hearts. . . . As a Saviour He sent Him, and as seeking to persuade, not to compel us, for violence has no place in the character of God.

viii. And He has manifested Himself through faith, to which alone it is given to behold God.

ix. He Himself took on Him the burden of our iniquities, He gave His own Son as a Ransom for us. . . . By what other one was it possible that we, the wicked and ungodly, could be justified, than by the only Son of God?

xi. I do not speak of things strange to me, but having been a disciple of the Apostles, I am become a teacher of the Gentiles. I minister the things delivered to me to those that are disciples worthy of the truth. . . . This is He Who being from everlasting is to-day called the Son, through Whom the Church is enriched, and grace, widely spread, increases in the saints, furnishing understanding, revealing mysteries, announcing times, rejoicing over the faithful, giving to

those that seek, by whom the limits of faith are not broken through, nor the boundaries set by the fathers passed over. Then the fear of the law is chanted, and the grace of the prophets is known, and the faith of the gospels is established, and the tradition of the Apostles is preserved, and the grace of the Church exults; which grace if you grieve not, you shall know those things which the Word teaches, by whom He will, and when He pleases.

xii. When you have read and carefully listened to these things, you shall know what God bestows on such as rightly love Him. . . . He who thinks he knows anything without true knowledge and such as is witnessed to by life, knows nothing, but is deceived by the serpent. Bearing this tree (of knowledge) and displaying its fruit, thou shalt always gather in those things which are desired by God. . . . Salvation is manifested, and the Apostles are filled with understanding, and the passover of the Lord advances, and the choirs are gathered together, and are arranged in proper order, and the Word rejoices in teaching the saints, by whom the Father is glorified; to Whom be glory for ever. Amen.

Notes.

He who having been "a disciple of the Apostles" has become "a teacher of the Gentiles" describes Christianity as a purely spiritual and practical faith in the Son of God, the knowledge of Whom is received

through teaching; he makes no reference to any special rite connected with the faith, or to any official ministry, excepting that of the Apostles, and of himself as the minister of the things delivered to him. The Church is the body of the saints enriched directly by the Son of God Himself, Who works by whom He will and when He pleases. The absence of references to Christian officers and Christian rites is probably due to the fact that the author is addressing a heathen and describing the contents of the Christian Faith, not the organisation of the Christian Church.

Confirmation.—The spiritual character of the Gospel, and the sole efficacy of practical faith.

9. *Papias.*

PHRYGIA, A.D. 130.

Papias was Bishop of Hierapolis in Phrygia in the first half of the second century. The object of his Exposition of the Oracles of God was to throw light on the gospel history, and specially by the help of oral traditions which he had been able to collect from those who had come into contact with surviving members of the Apostolic circle. That Papias lived at a time when it was still possible to meet such persons gives great importance to his testimony. The date of the Exposition may be put at A.D. 130.

Fragment from the Exposition of the Oracles of the Lord.

1. But I shall not be unwilling to put down, along with my interpretations, whatsoever instructions I received with care at any time from the elders and stored up with care in my memory, assuring you at the same time of their truth. . . . If, then, any one who had attended on the elders came, I asked minutely after their sayings—what Andrew or Peter said, or what was said by Philip, or by Thomas, or by James, or by *John* (the Apostle then dead), or by Matthew, or by any other of the Lord's disciples: which things Aristion and the *presbyter John* (still alive), the disciples of the Lord, say. For I imagined that what was to be got from books was not so profitable to me as what came from the living and abiding voice.

Note.

The only title which Papias gives to the Apostles is that of elder or presbyter.

Confirmation.—The purity of tradition which became Scripture.

10. *S. Justin the Martyr.*

ROME, A.D. 148.

Of the works of Justin, only the two Apologies and the Dialogue with Trypho the Jew can be accepted

as undoubtedly authentic; and of these only the first Apology and the Dialogue throw light on the subject of this inquiry.

S. Justin's temperament was such that he held himself responsible for any ignorance in others which it was possible for him to remove; this made him of great value in the service of the Church and enhances the value of his testimony to Christian doctrine and order as he understood, and was acquainted with, them. He was well educated and had travelled extensively.

The First Apology.

c. xxxix. From Jerusalem there went out into the world, men, twelve in number, and these illiterate, of no ability in speaking; but by the power of God they proclaimed to every race of men that they were sent by Christ to teach to all the Word of God. They were called Apostles (l.).

lxi. I will also relate the manner in which we dedicated ourselves to God when we had been made new through Christ; lest, if we omit this, we seem to be unfair in the explanation we are making. As many as are persuaded and believe that what we teach and say is true, and undertake to be able to live accordingly, are instructed to pray and to entreat God with fasting, for the remission of their sins that are past, we praying and fasting with them. Then they are brought by us where there is water, and are

regenerated in the same manner in which we were ourselves regenerated. For, in the name of God, the Father and Lord of the universe, and of our Saviour Jesus Christ, and of the Holy Spirit, they then receive the washing with water. For Christ also said, "Except ye be born again, ye shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven." . . . And for this we have learned from the Apostles this reason. Since at our birth we were born without our knowledge or choice, and were brought up in bad habits and wicked training; in order that we may not remain the children of necessity and of ignorance, but may become the children of choice and knowledge, and may obtain in the water the remission of sins formerly committed, there is pronounced over him who chooses to be born again and has repented of his sins, the name of God the Father and Lord of the universe; he who leads to the laver the person that is to be washed calling him by this name alone. . . . And this washing is called illumination, because they who learn these things are illuminated in their understandings. And in the name of Jesus Christ, Who was crucified under Pontius Pilate, and in the name of the Holy Ghost, Who through the prophets foretold all things about Jesus, he who is illuminated is washed.

lxv. But we, after we have thus washed him who has been convinced and has assented to our teaching, bring him to the place where those who are called brethren are assembled, in order that we may offer

hearty prayers in common for ourselves and for the baptised (illuminated) person, and for all others in every place. . . . Having ended the prayers, we salute one another with a kiss. There is then presented to the president of the brethren (*τῷ προεστῶτι τῶν ἀδελφῶν*) bread and a cup of water and mixed wine; and he taking them gives praise and glory to the Father of the universe, through the name of the Son and the Holy Ghost, and offers thanks at considerable length for our being counted worthy to receive these things at His hands. And when he has concluded the prayers and thanksgivings, all the people present express their assent by saying Amen. And when the president has given thanks, and all the people have expressed their assent, those who are called by us deacons give to each of those present to partake of the bread and wine and water over which the thanksgiving was pronounced, and to those who are absent they carry away a portion.

lxvi. And this food is called among us *Εὐχαριστία*, of which no one is allowed to partake but the man who believes that the things which we teach are true, and who has been washed with the washing that is for the remission of sins, and unto regeneration, and who is so living as Christ has enjoined. For not as common bread and common drink do we receive these, but in like manner as Jesus Christ our Saviour, having been made flesh by the word of God, had both flesh and blood for our salvation, so likewise

have we been taught that the food which is blessed by the prayer of His word [the Lord's prayer—Stanley; or the word of prayer, or over which thanksgiving has been made by the utterance in prayer of the word derived from Him], and from which our blood and flesh by transmutation are nourished, is the flesh and blood of that Jesus Who was made flesh. For the Apostles, in the memoirs composed by them, which are called Gospels, have thus delivered unto us what was enjoined upon them; that Jesus took bread, and when He had given thanks, said, "This do ye in remembrance of Me; this is My body;" and that after the same manner, having taken the cup and given thanks, He said, "This is My blood," and gave it to them alone.

lxvii. And on the day called Sunday, all who live in cities or in the country gather together to one place, and the memoirs of the Apostles or the writings of the prophets are read, as long as time permits; then when the reader has ceased, the president verbally instructs, and exhorts to the imitation of these good things. Then we all rise together and pray, and as we before said, when our prayer is over, bread and wine and water are brought, and the president in like manner offers prayers and thanksgivings according to his ability (or with all his strength ὅση δύναμις αὐτῷ), and the people assent, saying Amen; and there is a distribution to each, and a participation of that over which thanks have been given, and to those who

are absent a portion is sent by the deacons. And they who are well-to-do, and willing, give what each thinks fit; and what is collected is deposited with the president, who succours the orphans and widows, and those who through sickness or any other cause are in want, and those who are in bonds, and the strangers sojourning among us, and in a word takes care of all who are in need.

The Dialogue with Trypho the Jew.

xli. The offering of fine flour which was prescribed to be presented on behalf of those purified from leprosy, was a type of the bread of the Eucharist, the celebration of which our Lord Jesus Christ prescribed, in remembrance of the suffering which He endured on behalf of those who are purified in soul from all iniquity, in order that we may at the same time thank God for having created the world, with all things therein, for the sake of man, and for delivering us from the evil in which we were, and for utterly overthrowing principalities and powers by Him Who suffered according to His will. Hence God speaks by the mouth of Malachi, one of the twelve (prophets), as I said before about the sacrifices at that time presented by you (Mal. i. 10–12). He then speaks of those Gentiles, namely us, who in every place offer sacrifices to Him *i.e.* the bread of the Eucharist, and also the cup of the Eucharist, affirming both that we glorify His name, and that you profane it.

xlii. Moreover, the prescription that twelve bells be attached to the (robe) of the High Priest, which hung down to the feet, was a symbol of the twelve Apostles, who depend on the power of Christ, the Eternal Priest.

xliii. That the word of God speaks to those who believe in Him (Christ) as being one soul and one synagogue and one church, as to a daughter; that it thus addresses the Church which has sprung from His name and partakes of His name (for we are all called Christians), is distinctly proclaimed in the following words—Ps. xlv. 6–11.

lxx. In this prophecy (Isa. xxxiii. 13–19) allusion is made to the bread which our Christ gave us to eat, in remembrance of His being made flesh for the sake of His believers, for whom also He suffered; and to the cup which He gave us to drink [ποιεῖν, probably in reference to the form of institution, "This do"] in remembrance of His own blood, with giving of thanks.

cxvi. But to give you the account of the revelation of the holy Jesus Christ, I assert that even that revelation was made for us who believe on Christ the High Priest, namely this crucified One; and though we lived in fornication and all kinds of filthy conversation, we have by the grace of our Jesus, according to His Father's will, stripped ourselves of all those filthy wickednesses with which we were imbued. . . . We who through the name of Jesus have believed as

one man in God the Maker of all, have been stripped through the name of His first-begotten Son of the filthy garments (as Joshua), *i.e.* of our sins; and being vehemently inflamed by the word of His calling, we are the true high-priestly race of God, as even God Himself bears witness, saying that in every place among the Gentiles sacrifices are presented to Him well-pleasing and pure. Now God receives sacrifices from no one, except through His priests (διὰ τῶν ἱερέων Αὐτοῦ).

cxvii. Accordingly God, anticipating all the sacrifices which we offer through this name, and which Jesus the Christ enjoined us to offer, *i.e.* in the Eucharist of the bread and the cup, and which are presented by Christians in all places throughout the world, bears witness that they are well-pleasing to Him. But he utterly rejects those presented by you and by those priests of yours, saying, "I will not accept," etc. (Mal. i. 10–12). Yet even now, in your love of contention, you assert that God does not accept the sacrifices of those who dwelt then in Jerusalem and were called Israelites; but say that He is pleased with the prayers of the individuals of that nation then dispersed, and calls their prayers sacrifices. Now, that prayers and giving of thanks, when offered by worthy men, are the only perfect and well-pleasing sacrifices to God, I also admit. For such alone Christians have undertaken to offer, and in the remembrance effected by their solid and liquid food,

whereby the suffering of the Son of God which He endured is brought to mind, Whose Name the high priests of your nation and your teachers have caused to be profaned and blasphemed over all the earth.

cxviii. He is the chosen Priest and eternal King, the Christ, inasmuch as He is the Son of God; and do not suppose that Isaiah or the other prophets speak of sacrifices of blood or libations being presented at the altar on His second Advent, but of true and spiritual praises and giving of thanks (εὐχαριστίας).

Notes.

1. S. Justin refers by name to only one of the three orders, namely deacons. A president at the Eucharist is spoken of; whether he was such *ex-officio,* or one of the brethren presiding for the time being, may be argued as an open question as far as grammatical construction is concerned, but the analogy of Justin's other references, and of preceding writers, points to an *ex-officio* president.

2. Prayers and thanksgivings are the only perfect and well-pleasing Christian sacrifices. The offering of these implies the priesthood of the offerers; the Christian brethren are declared to be the true high-priestly race of God; Christ alone is the chosen and eternal High Priest, and all His followers are brethren.

3. The Eucharist is a Memorial, in which the blood and flesh of those who participate is by transmutation nourished; it is a Food received, not as

common bread and common drink, but blessed by the word of prayer it is the flesh and blood of Jesus in harmony with the words of Institution. Only the baptised who believed what had been taught, and whose life was consistent, were allowed to partake.

Confirmation.—A presidential, priestly ministry, administrative of Holy Scripture; and the office of Deacon.

The spiritual and sacramental character of Baptism.

The Eucharist as spiritual, sacramental, commemorative, and life-sustaining.

The wine of the Eucharist is mixed with water.

Variation.—The Bread and the Cup of the Eucharist is a Sacrifice.

Reservation of the Eucharist, which is sent to the absent, by the deacons.

11. *The Revelation of Peter.*

PALESTINE, A.D. 150.

Besides that of S. John, this is the only Apocalypse, claiming Apostolic authorship, which appears to have obtained in the Church for any length of time. Sozomen, born A.D. 400, pronounced it spurious, but says that it was publicly read once a year in some churches of Palestine.

14. And I said to him, Where are the righteous

ones, and what is the æon in which they are and have this glory?

15. And the Lord showed me a very great country outside this world, etc.

19. The Lord saith to me, This is the place of your high priests, the righteous men.

Note.

High priesthood here denotes character rather than office—"the righteous."

Confirmation.—The spiritual rather than the official meaning of priesthood in its fundamental sense.

12. *S. Hegesippus.*

PALESTINE, CORINTH AND ROME, A.D. 170.

S. Hegesippus is commonly known as the Father of Church History, though his works, with the exception of a few fragments, have perished. He appears to have been a Jew converted to the Christian faith. He travelled much, visiting among other places Rome, where the history of its early bishops, and Corinth, where the first Epistle of Clement, attracted his attention. He seems to have recorded what he learned in his travels as he learned it, without any systematic order. His evidence has reference to a very large part of the Church of his day, and that probably the most active part.

Fragments from the Five Books of Commentaries on the Acts of the Church.

Book v. *Concerning the Martyrdom of James, the Brother of the Lord.*—James, the Lord's Brother, succeeds to the government of the Church, in conjunction with the Apostles. He has been universally called "The Just" from the days of the Lord down to the present time. . . . He drank no wine, etc. He alone was permitted to enter the holy place, for he did not wear any woollen garment, but fine linen. He alone was wont to go into the temple, and he used to be found kneeling on his knees, begging forgiveness for the people—so that the skin of his knees became horny like that of a camel. . . . This man was a true witness to both Jews and Greeks, that Jesus is the Christ.

Concerning the Relatives of the Saviour.—There still survived of the kindred of the Lord, the grandsons of Judas, who according to the flesh was called His brother. These were informed against, as belonging to the family of David, and Evocatus brought them before Domitian Cæsar. . . . When they were released they became leaders (ἡγήσασθαι) of the Churches, as was natural in the case of those who were at once martyrs and of the kindred of the Lord. And after the establishment of peace their lives were prolonged to Trajan.

Concerning the Martyrdom of Symeon, the son of

Clopas, Bishop of Jerusalem.—Others also, of the family of one of the reputed brothers of the Saviour, named Judas, as having survived until this same reign (Trajan Cæsar) after the testimony they bore for the faith of Christ in the time of Domitian, as already recorded. They came then and took the presidency of every Church, as witnesses, and as being of the kindred of the Lord. Up to that period (Symeon's crucifixion) the Church had remained like a virgin, pure and uncorrupted: for if there were any persons who were disposed to tamper with the wholesome rule of the preaching of salvation, they still lurked in some dark place of concealment or other. But when the sacred band of Apostles had in various ways closed their lives, and that generation of men to whom it had been vouchsafed to listen to the godlike wisdom with their own ears had passed away, then did the confederacy of godless error take its rise through the treachery of false teachers, who, seeing that none of the Apostles any longer survived, at length attempted with bare head to oppose the teaching of the truth by preaching "knowledge falsely so called."

Concerning his Journey to Rome, and the Jewish Sects.—And the Church of the Corinthians continued in the orthodox faith up to the time when Primus was bishop in Corinth. . . . On my arrival at Rome I drew up a list of the succession down to Anicetus, whose deacon was Eleutherius. . . . But in the case of every succession, and in every city, the state of

affairs is in accordance with the teaching of the Law and of the Prophets and of the Lord. . . . Thebulis it was who, because he was not made a bishop, first began to corrupt her (the Church) by stealth. He was connected with the seven sects. . . . Each in his own private and distinct capacity brought in his own private opinion. From these have come false Christs, false prophets, false apostles—men who have split up the one Church into parts through their corrupting doctrines in disparagement of God and of His Christ.

Note.

The only officers of the Church here referred to are Governors, Leaders, Presidents, Bishops, and Deacons. The purity of Apostolic doctrine is preserved where and as long as the Apostolic succession is maintained.

Confirmation.—Apostolic Succession of Bishops. The character of Official Ministry as presidential and administrative of tradition which became Holy Scripture.

13. *Athenagoras.*

ATHENS, A.D. 177.

Athenagoras was an Athenian and a philosopher who became a Christian. His only genuine extant works are The Apology or Plea for the Christians,

presented to the Emperors Aurelius and Commodus, and his treatise on The Resurrection. The latter contributes nothing to the subject of this inquiry.

The Apology.

c. xiii. The noblest sacrifice to Him (the Framer and Father of the universe) is for us to know Who stretched out and vaulted the heavens and fixed the earth in its place like a centre. . . . When, holding God to be this Framer of all things, Who preserves them in being and superintends them all by knowledge and administrative skill, "we lift up holy hands" to Him, what need has He further of a hecatomb? . . . And what have I to do with holocausts which God does not stand in need of? Though, indeed, it does behove us to offer a bloodless sacrifice and "the service of our reason."

Confirmation.—The observance of the Eucharist, and its spiritual character.

Variation.—The Eucharist is referred to as a sacrifice.

14. *Polycrates.*

Asia Minor, A.D. 130–196.

Polycrates was Bishop of Ephesus in the last decade of the second century. He belonged to a family in which he was the eighth Christian bishop.

Epistle to Victor and the Roman Church concerning the day of keeping the Passover.

For in Asia great luminaries have gone to their rest; who shall rise again in the day of the coming of the Lord. . . . John, moreover, who reclined on the Lord's bosom, and who became a priest wearing the mitre (πέταλον), and a Witness and a Teacher—he rests at Ephesus. Then there is Polycarp both bishop and martyr at Smyrna; and Thraseas from Eumenia, both bishop and martyr, who rests at Smyrna. Why should I speak of Sagaris, bishop and martyr, who rests at Laodicea? . . . Moreover, I also, Polycrates, who am the least of you all, in accordance with the tradition of my relatives, some of whom I have succeeded—seven of my relatives were bishops, and I am the eighth. . . . I might also have made mention of the bishops associated with me, whom it was your own desire to have called together by me, and I called them together, whose names if I were to write them down, would amount to a great number. These, on coming to see me, unworthy as I am, signified their approval of the letter, knowing that I wore grey hairs not in vain, but have always regulated my conduct in (obedience) to the Lord Jesus.

Note.

S. John may have worn the πέταλον (Ex. xxviii. 36) as a symbol of his Christian privileges, or Polycrates

may have mistaken metaphors for fact; but probably he used the term metaphorically: the fragment has several figurative expressions. Cf. S. John (Rev. i. 6; v. 10; xx. 6) for priesthood of believers generally, and Rev. ii. 17, as explained by Züllig, Trench and others, as referring to the special privilege of the high priest, bestowed on the victorious Christian.

S. John may have been regarded as specially representative of the character of Christian priesthood, and this may have given rise to the use of the metaphor (Stanley).

Confirmation.—Episcopacy and the priestly character of Official Ministry.

15. *The Letter of the Churches of Vienne and Lugdunum to the Churches of Asia and Phrygia.*

GAUL, ASIA MINOR, AND PHRYGIA, A.D. 177.

This letter gives the story of an outburst of persecution in Gaul which took place in the seventeenth year of Marcus Aurelius, and in which the Churches of Lyons and Vienne specially suffered. Only fragments of it are preserved (by Eusebius). It is an authentic witness to the views and doctrines of the Christian Church in Gaul, in Rome and in Asia Minor, in the last half of the second century, since the constant correspondence and communication

between these churches prove that there must have been practical unity of doctrine among them.

The letter opens with an apostolic blessing thus: "The servants of Christ who sojourn in Vienne and Lugdunum of Gaul to the brethren throughout Asia and Phrygia, who have the same faith and hope of redemption as ourselves, peace, grace and glory from God the Father and from Christ Jesus our Lord."

Sanctus is referred to as "a deacon from Vienne" and "the Blessed Pothinus" as one "who had been entrusted with the service of the bishopric in Lugdunum."

Confirmation.—The two orders of Bishop and Deacon.

16. *S. Irenæus.*

GAUL, A.D. 170–200.

S. Irenæus was a presbyter at Lyons when Pothinus, who with Irenæus had been a pupil of S. Polycarp, was the Bishop there; and succeeded Pothinus in the episcopal office. He was a native of Asia Minor, and had availed himself of the instructions not only of S. Polycarp, but also of presbyters who were mediate or immediate disciples of the Apostles themselves; he took a leading part in the ecclesiastical transactions and controversies of his time.

Against Heresies.

Bk. I. x. 1. The Church, though dispersed throughout the whole world, even to the ends of the earth, has received from the Apostles and their disciples this faith.

2. The Church having received this preaching and this faith, although scattered throughout the whole world, yet, as if occupying one house, carefully preserves it. She also believes these points, just as if she had but one soul, and one and the same heart, and she proclaims and teaches them and hands them down with perfect harmony, as if she possessed only one mouth. . . . Nor will any one of the rulers in the churches, however highly gifted he may be in point of eloquence, teach doctrines different from these (for no one is greater than the Master); nor, on the other hand, will he who is deficient in power of expression inflict injury on the tradition.

3. The Catholic Church possesses one and the same faith throughout the whole world.

xiii. 5. A certain Asiatic, one of our deacons.

xxvi. 3. The Nicolaitanes are the followers of that Nicolas who was one of the seven first ordained to the diaconate by the Apostles.

Bk. III. i. 1. We have learned from none others the plan of our salvation, than from those through whom the Gospel has come down to us, which they did at one time proclaim in public, and at a later

period, by the Will of God, handed down to us in the Scriptures, to be the ground and pillar of our faith. . . . After our Lord rose from the dead (the Apostles) were invested with power from on high when the Holy Spirit came down. . . . they departed to the ends of the earth preaching the glad tidings . . . to men who indeed do all equally and individually possess the Gospel of God. . . . Matthew also issued a written Gospel among the Hebrews in their own dialect, while Peter and Paul were preaching at Rome and laying the foundations of the Church. After their departure, Mark, the disciple and interpreter of Peter, did also hand down to us in writing what had been preached by Peter. Luke also, the companion of Paul, recorded in a book the Gospel preached by him. Afterwards John, the disciple of the Lord, who also had leaned upon His breast, did himself publish a Gospel during his residence at Ephesus in Asia.

ii. 2. That tradition which originates from the Apostles, which is preserved by means of the succession of presbyters in the churches. [Compared with iii. 3 shows that "presbyter" and "bishop" are used interchangeably.]

iii. 1. It is within the power of all, therefore, in every church, who may wish to see the truth, to contemplate clearly the tradition of the Apostles manifested throughout the whole world; and we are in a position to reckon up those who were by the Apostles instituted bishops in the churches, and the

successions of these men to our own times; those who neither taught nor knew of anything like what these (heretics) rave about. For if the Apostles had known hidden mysteries, which they were in the habit of imparting to "the perfect" apart and privily from the rest, they would have delivered them especially to those to whom they were also committing the churches themselves. For they were desirous that these men should be very perfect and blameless in all things, whom also they were leaving behind as their successors, delivering up their own place of government to these men; which men, if they discharged their functions honestly, would be a great boon; but if they should fall away, the direst calamity.

2. Since, however, it would be very tedious, in such a volume as this, to reckon up the successions of all the churches, we do put to confusion all those who, in whatever manner, whether by an evil self-pleasing, by vain glory, or by blindness and perverse opinion, assemble in unauthorised meetings; by indicating that tradition derived from the Apostles, of the very great, the very ancient, and universally-known Church founded and organised at Rome by the two most glorious Apostles, Peter and Paul; as also the faith preached to men, which comes down to our time by means of the successions of the bishops. For it is a matter of necessity that every church should resort to (*convenire ad*) this church, on account of its

pre-eminent authority, that is, the faithful everywhere inasmuch as the Apostolical tradition has been preserved continuously by those who exist everywhere [*i.e.* Rome was naturally a travel centre and so a centre of the tradition of the faith, where a synoptical view of the faith was presented; every church, that is, the faithful everywhere, should, as civic business took them to Rome, resort to the church at Rome and both contribute to it the Apostolic tradition preserved everywhere by the faithful, and compare their faith with the faith thus already preserved there].

3. The blessed Apostles, then, having founded and built up the Church, committed into the hands of Linus the episcopate. Of this Linus, Paul makes mention in the Epistles to Timothy. [After stating the episcopal succession from Linus to his own contemporary Eleutherius, Irenæus proceeds:] In this order and by this succession, the ecclesiastical tradition from the Apostles, and the preaching of the truth, have come down to us. And this is most abundant proof that there is one and the same vivifying faith, which has been preserved in the Church from the Apostles until now, and handed down in truth.

4. But Polycarp was not only instructed by Apostles and conversed with many who had seen Christ, but was also, by Apostles in Asia, appointed bishop of the Church in Smyrna, whom I also saw in my early youth, for he tarried (on earth) a very long time, and,

when a very old man, gloriously and most nobly suffering martyrdom [A.D. 167], departed this life, having always taught the things which he had learned from the Apostles, and which the Church has handed down, and which alone are true. To these things all the Asiatic churches testify, as do also those men who have succeeded Polycarp down to the present time. . . . There is also a very powerful epistle of Polycarp written to the Philippians, from which those who choose to do so, and are anxious about their salvation, can learn the character of his faith, and the preaching of the truth. Then again, the church in Ephesus, founded by Paul, and having John remaining among them permanently until the times of Trajan, is a true witness of the tradition of the Apostles.

iv. 3. But the rest who are called Gnostics, take rise from Menander, Simon's disciple, as I have shown; and each one of them appeared to be both the father and the high priest of that doctrine into which he had been initiated. [There seems to be here a loose use of the term "high priest" as head or teacher without the implication of any other special priestly function.]

v. 1. Since therefore, the tradition from the Apostles does thus exist in the Church, and is permanent amongst us, let us revert to the Scriptural proof furnished by those Apostles who did also write the Gospel.

xiv. 2. When the bishops and presbyters who came

from Ephesus and the other cities adjoining had assembled in Miletus. . . . [Bishop and presbyter are here distinguished one from another, probably bishops of the other cities where the name was already adopted.]

xxiv. 1. For this gift of God (the faith) has been entrusted to the Church as breath was to the first created man, for this purpose, that all the members receiving it may be vivified; and the communion with Christ has been distributed throughout it, that is, the Holy Spirit, the earnest of incorruption, the means of confirming our faith, and the ladder of ascent to God. For in the Church, it is said, "God hath set apostles, prophets, teachers," and all the other means through which the Spirit works; of which all those are not partakers who do not join themselves to the Church, but defraud themselves of life through their perverse opinions and infamous behaviour. For where the Church is, there is the Spirit of God; and where the Spirit of God is, there is the Church and every kind of grace; but the Spirit is truth.

Bk. IV. viii. 3. All the righteous possess the sacerdotal rank. And all the apostles of the Lord are priests who do inherit here neither lands nor houses, but serve God and the altar continually. . . . But who are they that have left father and mother, and have said adieu to all their neighbours, on account of the Word of God and His covenant, unless the

disciples of the Lord? . . . To His disciples He said, who had a priesthood of the Lord, to whom it was lawful when hungry to eat the ears of corn, "For the workman is worthy of his meat." (See also V. xxxiv. 3.)

xv. 1. Luke also has recorded that Stephen, who was the first elected into the diaconate by the Apostles. . . .

xvii. 5. Again giving direction to His disciples to offer to God the firstfruits of His own created things —not as if He stood in need of them, but that they might be themselves neither unfruitful nor ungrateful, He took that created thing, bread, and gave thanks, and said, "This is My body." And the cup likewise, which is part of that creation to which we belong, He confessed to be His blood, and taught the new oblation of the new covenant, which the Church receiving from the Apostles offers to God throughout the world, to Him Who gives us as the means of subsistence the firstfruits of His own gifts in the New Testament, concerning which Malachi, among the twelve prophets, thus spoke beforehand (Mal. i. 10, 11).

6. Now John in the Apocalypse declares that the "incense" is "the prayers of the saints" (Rev. v. 8).

xviii. 2. And the class of oblation in general has not been set aside, for there were both oblations there [among the Jews], and there are oblations here [among the Christians]. Sacrifices there were

among the people, sacrifices there are too in the Church: but the species alone has been changed, inasmuch as the offering is now made, not by slaves, but by free men. . . . And for this reason they (the Jews) had indeed the tithes of their goods consecrated to Him; but those who have received liberty set aside all their possessions for the Lord's purposes.

3. Sacrifices, therefore, do not sanctify a man, for God stands in no need of sacrifice; but it is the conscience of the offerer that sanctifies the sacrifice when it is pure, and thus moves God to accept, as from a friend.

4. And the Church alone offers this pure oblation to the Creator, offering to Him, with giving of thanks, from His creation. But the Jews do not offer thus: for their hands are full of blood; for they have not received the Word, through Whom it is offered to God. But how can they [who maintain that the things around us originated from apostasy] be consistent with themselves, that the bread over which thanks have been given is the body of the Lord, and the cup His blood, if they do not call Himself the Son of the Creator of the world, that is, His Word through Whom the wood fructifies, and the fountains gush forth, and the earth gives "first the blade, then the ear, then the full corn in the ear"?

5. For as the bread, which is produced from the earth, when it receives the invocation of God is no longer common bread, but the Eucharist, consisting

of two realities, earthly and heavenly ; so also our bodies, when they receive the Eucharist, are no longer corruptible, having the hope of the resurrection to eternity.

6. Now we make offering to Him, not as though He stood in need of it, but rendering thanks for His gift, and thus sanctifying what He has created. . . . As therefore He does not stand in need of these, yet does desire that we should render them for our own benefit, lest we be unfruitful ; so did the Word give to the people that very precept as to the making of oblations, although He stood in no need of them, that they might learn to serve God : thus is it therefore also His will that we too should offer a gift at the altar, frequently and without intermission. The altar then is to heaven (for towards that place are our prayers and oblations directed) ; the temple likewise, as John says in the Apocalypse, "And the temple of God was opened ; " the tabernacle also : " For behold," He says, "the tabernacle of God, in which He will dwell with men."

xxvi. 2. It is incumbent to obey the presbyters who are in the Church—those who, as I have shown, possess the succession from the Apostles ; those who, together with the succession of the episcopate, have received the certain gift of truth, according to the good pleasure of the Father ;—but to hold in suspicion others who depart from the primitive succession, and assemble themselves together in any place whatsoever

either as heretics of perverse minds, or as schismatics puffed up and self-pleasing, or again as hypocrites, acting thus for the sake of lucre and vain glory. For all these have fallen from the truth. And the heretics, indeed, who bring strange fire unto the altar of God —namely strange doctrines—shall be burned up by the fire from heaven as were Nadab and Abiud. But such as rise up in opposition to the truth, and exhort others against the Church of God, shall remain among those in hell, being swallowed up by the earthquake, even as those who were with Chore, Dathan and Abiron. But those who cleave asunder, and separate the unity of the Church, receive from God the same punishment as Jeroboam did.

4. From all such persons therefore, it behoves us to keep aloof, but to adhere to those who, as I have already observed, do hold the doctrine of the Apostles, and who together with the order of priesthood (*presbyterii ordine*) display sound speech and blameless conduct for the confirmation and correction of others.

5. Such presbyters does the Church nourish of whom also the prophet says, "I will give thy rulers in peace and thy bishops in righteousness." Of whom also did the Lord declare, "Who then shall be a faithful steward." Paul then, teaching us where one may find such, says, "God hath placed in the Church, first, apostles; secondly, prophets; thirdly, teachers." Where therefore the gifts of the Lord have been placed, there it behoves us to learn the

truth, namely, from those who possess that succession of the Church which is from the Apostles, and among whom exists that which is sound and blameless in conduct, as well as that which is unadulterated and incorrupt in speech.

xxxii. 1. And then shall every word also seem consistent to him, if he for his part diligently read the Scriptures in company with those who are presbyters of the Church, among whom is the Apostolic doctrine, as I have pointed out.

xxxiii. 7. He (a spiritual disciple of this sort truly receiving the Spirit of God) shall also judge those who give rise to schisms, who are destitute of the love of God, and who look to their own special advantage rather than to the unity of the Church; and who for trifling reasons, or any kind of reason which occurs to them, cut to pieces and divide the great and glorious body of Christ, and so far as in them lies destroy it —men who prate of peace while they give rise to war, and do in truth strain out a gnat, but swallow a camel. For no reformation of so great importance can be effected by them as will compensate for the mischief arising from their schism. He shall also judge all those who are beyond the pale of the truth, that is, who are outside the Church; but he himself shall be judged by no one.

8. True knowledge is the doctrine of the Apostles, and the ancient constitution of the Church throughout all the world, and the distinctive manifestation of the

body of Christ according to the successions of the bishops, by which they have handed down that Church which exists in every place, and has come even unto us, being guarded and preserved, without any forging of Scriptures, by a very complete system of doctrine, and neither receiving addition nor curtailment, and reading without falsification, and a lawful and diligent exposition in harmony with the Scriptures, both without danger and without blasphemy, and the pre-eminent gift of love, which is more precious than knowledge, more glorious than prophecy, and which excels all the other gifts.

Book V. ii. 2. He has acknowledged the cup (which is a part of the creation) as His own blood, from which He bedews our blood; and the bread (also a part of the creation) He has established as His own body, from which He gives increase to our bodies (see also 3).

xx. 1. But the path of those belonging to the Church circumscribes the whole world, as possessing the sure tradition from the Apostles, and gives unto us to see that the faith of all is one and the same, since all receive one and the same God the Father, and believe in the same dispensation regarding the incarnation of the Son of God, and are cognisant of the same gift of the Spirit, and are conversant with the same commandments, and preserve the same form of ecclesiastical constitution, and expect the same advent of the Lord, and await the same

salvation of the complete man, that is, of the soul and body.

2. Those, therefore, who desert the preaching of the Church, call in question the knowledge of the holy presbyters, not taking into consideration of how much greater consequence is a religious man, even in a private station, than a blasphemous and impudent sophist. . . . It behoves us, therefore, to avoid their doctrines, . . . but to flee to the Church and be brought up in her bosom and be nourished with the Lord's Scriptures, for the Church has been planted as a Paradise in this world [Scriptures are the trees].

Fragments from the lost Writings of Irenæus.

iii. *From Epistle to Victor of Rome.*

And the presbyters preceding Soter in the government of the Church which thou dost now rule, I mean Anicetus and Pius, etc., did neither themselves observe it (after that fashion) nor permit those with them to do so. Notwithstanding this, those who did not keep (the feast in this way) were peacefully disposed towards those who came to them from other dioceses in which it was (so) observed, although such observance was in most decided contrariety to those who did not fall in with it; and none were ever cast out for this matter.

xxxvii. *Fragment discovered by Pfaff.* And, therefore, the oblation of the Eucharist is not a carnal one,

but a spiritual, and in this respect it is pure. For we make an oblation to God of the bread and the cup of blessing, giving Him thanks in that He has commanded the earth to bring forth these fruits for our nourishment. And then when we have perfected the oblation, we invoke the Holy Spirit, that He may exhibit this sacrifice, both the bread the body of Christ, and the cup the blood of Christ, in order that the receivers of these anti-types may obtain remission of sins and life eternal. Those persons then who perform these oblations in remembrance of the Lord, do not fall in with Jewish views, but perform the service after a spiritual manner; they shall be called sons of wisdom.

liii. *Syriac fragment from "The Lord's Resurrection."*

Christ is the Chief Priest among priests.

liv. *Armenian fragment from "The Lord's Resurrection."*

Christ is the Priest among priests.

Notes.

1. The work of the Apostles was to preach, lay the foundations of the churches and hand down the tradition of the faith; to found and organise the churches, hand down the Church by the successions of the bishops, guarded and preserved by a very

complete system of doctrine; find out wanderers, be for sight to those who saw not, and medicine to the weak. Their tradition was to be tested and confirmed by the Scriptures.

2. The churches and their governments were committed by the Apostles to the bishops. The apostolic tradition and the episcopal succession from the Apostles were parallel and mutually confirmatory proofs of the apostolicity of the churches. Such churches in various parts of the world were the Catholic Church. The distinctive manifestation of the body of Christ is the succession of the bishops. There was intercommunion between churches notwithstanding differences of opinion, *e.g.* the Paschal controversy.

3. Apostles, prophets, teachers with whom presbyters are also associated, and all other means by which the Spirit works, are in the Church, and cannot be participated in outside the Church, the pale of which is the pale of the truth, for the Spirit is truth, and where the Church is there is the Spirit, and where the Spirit is there is the Church.

4. The bread and wine of the Eucharist are offered as firstfruits; after the invocation of God, the bread is no longer common bread, but has both heavenly and earthly realities; its reception as a spiritual and anti-typical oblation makes the body no longer corruptible, imparts the hope of Resurrection, secures the forgiveness of sins, and identifies us with His

Resurrection. The Holy Spirit is invoked on the oblation that He may exhibit "this sacrifice."

5. Christ is the Chief Priest among priests. All the righteous possess the sacerdotal rank; all the Apostles and disciples of the Lord are priests.

Confirmation.—The three orders and episcopal succession from the Apostles. The character of Official Ministry as priestly in common with all the righteous, presidential and administrative of Holy Scripture as the record of tradition.

The character of the Lord's Supper as spiritual, sacramental, commemorative, eucharistic, and life-giving.

Variation.—The Eucharist is spoken of as the new oblation of the new covenant, and as a sacrifice.

17. *S. Clement of Alexandria.*

ALEXANDRIA, A.D. 190–203.

S. Clement of Alexandria was a presbyter at the head of the Catechetical School of Alexandria, A.D. 190–203. This was also the season of his greatest literary activity. He wrote at the time when doctrine was passing from the stage of oral tradition to written definition.

The Instructor.

I. vi. But the expression "I have given you to drink" (ἐπότισα, 1 Cor. iii. 2) is the symbol of perfect appropriation. . . . "For My blood," says the Lord, "is true drink."

If we who preside over the churches are shepherds after the image of the Good Shepherd.

The Lord, in the Gospel according to S. John, brought this out by symbols when He said, "Eat ye My flesh and drink My blood," describing distinctly by metaphor the drinkable properties of faith, and the promise by means of which the Church, like a human being consisting of many members, is refreshed and grows.

"Eat ye My flesh," He says, "and drink My blood." Such is the suitable food which the Lord ministers, and He offers His flesh and pours forth His blood, and nothing is wanting for the children's growth. O amazing mystery! We are enjoined to cast off the old and carnal corruption, as also the old nutriment, receiving in exchange another new regimen, that of Christ, receiving Him if we can, to hide Him within; and that enshrining the Saviour in our souls we may correct the affections of our flesh. . . . Thus in many ways the Word is figuratively described as meat and flesh, and food, and bread, and blood, and milk. The Lord is all these, to give enjoyment to us who have believed on Him. (See also II. 2: The Scripture,

accordingly, has named wine the symbol of the sacred blood (*μυστικὸν σύμβολον*). . . . And He blessed the wine, saying, "Take, drink, this is My blood"—the blood of the vine. He figuratively calls the Word "shed for many for the remission of sins"—the holy stream of gladness.)

The Miscellanies.

II. v. What need is there to say that He is the only High Priest Who alone possesses the knowledge of the worship of God?

ix. We call those brethren who are regenerated by the same Word.

IV. xxv. He calls those that would not believe, but would disbelieve, strangers. Only those who would live purely being true priests of God. . . . Melchisedek, King of Salem, priest of the most High God, who gave bread and wine, furnishing consecrated food for a type of the Eucharist.

V. vi. He who through Him has believed, puts off and puts on, as the Apostle intimated, the consecrated stole.

xi. Now the sacrifice which is acceptable to God is unswerving abstraction from the body and its passions.

VI. xiii. Those then, also now, who have exercised themselves in the Lord's commandments, and lived perfectly and gnostically according to the gospel, may be enrolled in the chosen body of the Apostles.

Such an one is in reality a presbyter of the Church, and a true deacon of the will of God, if he do and teach what is the Lord's; not as being ordained by men, nor regarded righteous because a presbyter, but enrolled in the presbyterate because righteous. According to my opinion the grades (προκοπαί) here in the Church of bishops, presbyters, deacons, are imitations of the angelic glory.

VII. i. In the Church the presbyters attend to the department which has improvement (of the soul) for its object, and the deacons to the ministerial.

iii. Mildness, I think, and philanthropy, and eminent piety are the rules of gnostic assimilation. I affirm that these virtues "are a sacrifice acceptable in the sight of God" (Phil. iv. 18); Scripture alleging that "the humble heart with right knowledge is the holocaust of God" (Ps. li. 17, 19). . . . We glorify Him Who gave Himself in sacrifice for us, we also sacrificing ourselves.

vi. The altar, then, that is with us here, the terrestrial one, is the congregation of those who devote themselves to prayers, having as it were one common voice and one mind. . . . The sacrifice of the Church is the word breathing as incense from holy souls, the sacrifice and the whole mind being at the same time unveiled to God. . . . The righteous soul is the truly sacred altar, and incense arising from it is holy prayer. . . . That compounded incense which is mentioned in the law, is that which consists of many

tongues and voices in prayer, or rather of different nations and natures, prepared by the gift vouchsafed in the dispensation for "the unity of the faith," and brought together in praises, with a pure mind, and just and righteous conduct, from holy works and righteous prayer.

vii. He [the Gnostic, *i.e.* he whose conduct of life is ruled by the knowledge of the faith] is then the truly kingly man; he is the sacred high priest of God. . . . Always tracing up to God the grave enjoyment of all things, he offers the firstfruits of food, and drink, and unguents to the Giver of all, acknowledging his thanks in the gift and in the use of them by the Word given to him. And since the dawn is an image of the day of truth, and from that point the light which has shone forth at first from the darkness increases, there has also dawned on those involved in darkness a day of the knowledge of truth. In correspondence of the manner of the sun's rising, prayers are made looking towards the sunrise in the East. . . .

His whole life is a holy festival. His sacrifices are prayers, and praises, and reading of the Scriptures before meals, and psalms and hymns during meals and before bed, and prayers also again during the night. . . . Does he not also know the other kind of sacrifice which consists in the giving both of doctrines and of money to those who need? Assuredly.

xvi. Those who are ready to toil in the most excellent pursuits will not desist from the search after

truth, till they get the demonstration from the Scriptures themselves. . . . He leads us in the inspired Scriptures.

On First Epistle of Peter.

"Ye are a royal priesthood." He says royal because we are called to sovereignty and belong to Christ; and priesthood on account of the oblation which is made by prayers and instructions by which are gained the souls that are offered to God.

The Salvation of the Rich Man.

xlii. When on the tyrant's death, he [the Apostle John] returned to Ephesus from the isle of Patmos, he went away, being invited, to the contiguous territories of the nations, here to appoint bishops, there to set in order whole churches, there to ordain such as were marked out by the Spirit. Having come to the cities not far off (the name of which some give) and having put the brethren to rest in other matters, at last, looking to the bishop appointed, and seeing a youth powerful in body, comely in appearance, and ardent, said, "This (youth) I commit to you in all earnestness, in the presence of the Church and with Christ as witness." . . . And the presbyter taking home the youth committed to him, reared, kept, cherished, and finally baptised him.

Notes.

1. Clement, who was a presbyter, refers to himself and other presbyters as presiding over the churches, and uses the terms bishop and presbyter interchangeably. He says that presidents over the churches are "shepherds after the image of the Good Shepherd." He records that the Apostle John, being invited, appointed bishops, set churches in order, and ordained.

2. Christ as alone possessing the knowledge of the worship of God, is the only High Priest; the priestly character among men is derived directly from Him, and is constituted by practical faith learned from Him, which even enrols the possessor in the Apostolic body and admits all who have it to the priesthood. All who are regenerated by the Word are "brethren" who are also priests in virtue of their winning souls offered to God, by their prayers and instruction. Presbyter and deacon owe their appointment to their character.

3. Bishops preside over churches, presbyters attend to spiritual improvement, deacons to physical ministry.

4. Faith, symbolised by eating and drinking, is the means by which Christ is appropriated in the soul; and Christ, symbolised by flesh and blood, is the soul's food. This is represented as the meaning of the words of the Institution of the Lord's Supper.

5. The Christian sacrifice consists of the offering to God of virtues, self-dedication, subjection of the

body, firstfruits, prayer, praise, Scriptural meditation, Scriptural instruction, souls won for God, and alms.

6. The Christian altar is the praying congregation, the righteous soul. Prayer is the true incense, and the true festival a holy life.

7. The Eastward position in prayer symbolises the attitude of the soul toward God, from Whom, as from the sunrise, all light comes.

Confirmation.—The three Orders.

The character of Official Ministry as priestly in common with all true Christians, presidential, administrative of Holy Scripture, and non-exclusive of the ministry of instruction.

The spiritual, sacramental, eucharistic, figurative, and life-sustaining character of the Lord's Supper.

18. *The Passion of the Holy Martyrs SS. Perpetua and Felicitas.*

CARTHAGE, A.D. 203.

The Acts of Martyrdom profess to have been written in great part by Perpetua and Saturus, and completed for publication by a third party, possibly by Tertullian. The date of the martyrdom may be put at A.D. 203.

iv. 3. And we went forth, and saw before the entrance Optatus the bishop at the right hand, and Aspasius the presbyter, a teacher, at the left hand.

Note.

A class of presbyters seems to be here referred to whose special function was that of teaching. The three orders of bishop, presbyter, and deacon are mentioned.

Confirmation.—The three Orders.

19. *S. Hippolytus.*

ROME, A.D. 210.

At the beginning of the third century S. Hippolytus was the most learned member of the Church at Rome. It is probable that the term presbyter was applied to him as denoting the regard in which he was held by reason of his character and age, rather than as defining his office, and that he was an itinerant bishop. It seems difficult, however, to resist the conclusion that he claimed to be Bishop of Rome against Callistus, and that he was thus the first anti-pope. His "Refutation of all Heresies," or the Philosophumena, was published in the early years of Zephyrinus, the period of whose episcopacy was probably A.D. 198–217.

Refutation of all Heresies.

The Prœmium. But none will refute these, save the Holy Spirit bequeathed unto the Church, which the Apostles having in the first instance received,

have imparted (μετέδοσαν) to those who have rightly believed. But we, as being their successors, and as participators in this grace, high-priesthood, and office of teaching, as well as being reputed guardians of the Church, must not be found deficient in vigilance, or disposed to suppress correct doctrine.

v. 3. But this very one (the Perfect Man) the Phrygians, he says, call also Papa, because he tranquillized all things, which, prior to his manifestation, were confusedly and dissonantly moved. [Pre-Christian use of term Papa.]

ix. 7. About the time of this man (Callistus) bishops, priests and deacons, who had been twice married, and thrice married, began to retain their place among the clergy. If also, however, any one who is in holy orders should be married, such an one to continue in holy orders, as if he had not sinned. . . . And withal, after such audacious acts, they, lost to all shame, attempt to call themselves a Catholic Church.

Commentaries.

Gen. xlix. 16–20. Aquila.—Whereas on the abolition of the shadow in the law, and the introduction of the worship in spirit and in truth, the world had need of greater light, at last, with this object, the inspired disciples were called and put in possession of the lot of teachers of the law.

Proverbs ix. 1. *And she hath furnished her table.*

That denotes the promised knowledge of the Holy Trinity ; it also refers to His honoured and undefiled Body and Blood, which day by day are administered and offered sacrificially at the spiritual divine table as a memorial of that first and ever-memorable table of the spiritual divine supper. *Come, eat of My bread, and drink of the wine which I have mingled for you ;* by which is meant, that He gave His divine flesh and honoured blood to us, to eat and to drink it for the remission of sins.

On the End of the World, Antichrist, and the Second Coming of our Lord Jesus Christ (dubious).

x. First of all Peter, the rock of the faith, whom Christ our God called Blessed, the teacher of the Church, the first disciple, he who has the keys of the kingdom, has instructed us to this effect (2 Pet. ii. 1).

xli. Come, ye hierarchs, who did Me sacred service blamelessly day and night, and made the oblation of My honourable body and blood daily.

Against the Heresy of one Noetus.

1. When the blessed presbyters heard this, they summoned him before the Church and examined him . . . then, after examining him, they expelled him from the Church.

The Holy Theophany.

5. Baptise me, John, in order that no one may despise baptism. I am baptised by thee, the servant, that no one among kings or dignitaries may scorn to be baptised by the hand of a poor priest.

Notes.

1. The Apostles imparted the Holy Spirit which they had received to those who rightly believed, among whom Hippolytus and his fellow-bishops, as participators in this grace, became successors to the Apostles in the high-priestly office of teaching, and of guardians of the Church.

2. The inspired disciples were put into the lot of teachers of the law. S. Peter's possession of the keys indicates his qualification as a teacher.

3. Bishops, priests, and deacons are spoken of as in holy orders and as clergy.

4. The Eucharist is a spiritual and memorial sacrifice of the first spiritual table.

5. The terms presbyter and priest are used interchangeably.

Confirmation.—The three Orders and Apostolical succession.

The character of Official Ministry as priestly, presidential, and administrative of Holy Scripture.

The spiritual, sacramental, and commemorative character of the Eucharist.

Variation.—The body and blood of the Lord are said to be day by day administered and offered sacrificially.

20. *S. Alexander, Bishop of Jerusalem.*

CAPPADOCIA, JERUSALEM, AND ALEXANDRIA, A.D. 216.

S. Alexander was bishop of a city in Cappadocia, and afterwards of Jerusalem. Demetrius, Bishop of Alexandria, brought a charge against Origen that, at Cæsarea, being a layman, he had expounded the Scriptures and preached publicly in the presence of bishops. On the remonstrance of Demetrius, Alexander, and Theoctistus, Bishop of Cæsarea, wrote a joint letter to Demetrius, from which quotations are given below. The date of Origen's act which gave rise to the letter was A.D. 216.

Epistle to Demetrius.

And he [Demetrius, addressed for honour's sake in the third person] has added to his letter that this is a matter that was never heard of before, and has never been done now—namely, that laymen should take part (in public speaking—ὁμιλεῖν) when there are bishops present. But in this assertion he has departed evidently far from the truth, by some means. For,

indeed, wherever there are found persons capable of profiting the brethren, such persons are exhorted by the holy bishops to address the people. Such was the case at Laranda, where Evelpis was thus exhorted by Neon ; and at Iconium, Paulinus was thus exhorted by Celsus ; and at Synada, Theodorus also by Atticus, our blessed brethren. And it is probable that this is done in other places also, although we know not the fact.

Epistle to Origen.

I have come to know thee, my lord and brother, who excellest all ["my lord," a title given by a bishop to one who was, possibly, at the time only a layman, and who never was more than a presbyter].

Note.

It was the custom for bishops to ask laymen to address the brethren.

Confirmation and Variation.—Refutation by Alexander of the claim made by Demetrius that lay preaching was inadmissible in the presence of a bishop, and so a confirmation of the character of Official Ministry as non-exclusive of the ministry of lay preaching against the attempted variation by Demetrius.

21. *Tertullian.*

CARTHAGE AND ROME, A.D. 197–223.

Tertullian was converted about A.D. 185, and afterwards became a presbyter of the Church, probably at Carthage. He became a Montanist A.D. 199–203; and died probably about 240. He threw himself, with his naturally ardent temperament, into all the questions which agitated the society of his time, and from his pages are to be gleaned valuable records of the doctrine and worship of the Church. When he became a Montanist (and he became the head of the party in Africa) and ruthlessly exposed what to him was faulty in the practice and discipline of the Church, he unconsciously preserved what that practice and discipline was.

Montanism, as adopted and represented by Tertullian, was a conservative and exaggerated reaction from the laxity of Rome, specially with regard to fasts, celibacy and marriage, second marriages and Church discipline, and claimed to be based on special revelations of the Paraclete to individuals in a state of ecstasy.

By the end of the second century the Christians in Roman Africa numbered thousands, if not millions; were fully organised under Church officers, and had their places of assembly and cemeteries. The period of Tertullian's literary activity was 197–223. It is

said that Cyprian never passed a day without reading some of Tertullian's works, and used frequently to say, "Give me the master," meaning Tertullian. Of his many writings only those are here referred to which furnish information on the subject of this inquiry.

Tertullian while still a member of the Church.

I. As a Layman.

(1) The Apology.

39. We are a body knit together as such by a common religious profession, by unity of discipline, and by the bond of a common hope. We meet together as an assembly and congregation, that offering up prayer to God as with united force, we may wrestle with Him in our supplications. . . . We assemble to read our sacred writings, if any peculiarity of the times makes either forewarning or reminiscence needful. However it be in that respect with the sacred words, we nourish our faith, we animate our hope, we make our confidence more stedfast, and no less by inculcation of God's precepts we confirm good habits. In the same place also exhortations are made, rebukes and sacred censures are administered. . . . The tried men of our elders preside[1] over

[1] Cf. Ad Uxorem, I. vii. and 1 Tim. iii. 2; Titus i. 6. De Idol., vii.; De Coronâ, iii.; De Jejunis, xvii., and 1 Tim. v. 17: where presidents represent bishops and presbyters.

us, obtaining that honour not by purchase, but by established character. . . . We call each other brethren . . . who have been led to the knowledge of God as their common Father, who have drunk in one spirit of holiness, who from the same womb of a common ignorance have agonised into the same light of truth. . . . Yet about the modest supper-room of the Christians alone a great ado is made. Our feast explains itself by its name. The Greeks call it ἀγαπῆ. . . . Each is asked to stand forth and sing, as he can, a hymn to God, either one from the Holy Scripture or one of his own composing.

(2) To the Nations.

Book I. c. vii. How absurd it is that the profane know mysteries which the priest knows not.

[The term priests is here applied to the officers of the Christian Church (if indeed that be the sense of the passage) as a parallel term to the priests of heathen mysteries, the arguments being that the evidence of the professed exponents of Christianity should outweigh the slanderous reports of the heathen.]

(3) An Answer to the Jews.

6. We must inquire whether this giver of the new law, observer of the spiritual sabbath, priest of the eternal sacrifices, eternal ruler of the eternal kingdom, be come or no. . . . And primarily we must lay it down, that the ancient law and the prophets could

not have ceased unless He were come Who was constantly announced, through the same law and through the same prophets, as to come.

8. On Christ's being baptised, that is on His sanctifying the waters in His own baptism, all the plenitude of bygone spiritual grace-gifts ceased in Christ, sealing as He did all visions and prophecies, which by His advent He fulfilled.

II. As a Presbyter.

(1) On Idolatry.

7. A whole day the zeal of faith will direct its pleadings to this quarter: bewailing that a Christian should come from idols into the Church; should come from an adversary workshop into the house of God; . . . should apply to the Lord's Body those hands which confer bodies on demons. Nor is this sufficient. Grant that it be a small matter if from other hands they receive what they contaminate. Idol artificers are chosen even into the ecclesiastical order. Oh, wickedness! Once did the Jews lay hands on Christ; these mangle His Body daily. Oh, hands to be cut off! . . . What hands more to be amputated than these in which scandal is done to the Lord's Body?

(2) To his Wife.

Book II. 6. From the tavern, I suppose, she who sups upon God will hear somewhat.

(3) On Prayer.

6. Albeit we may rather understand, "Give us this day our daily bread" spiritually. For Christ is our bread because Christ is Life, and bread is life. . . . Then, too, that His body is reckoned in bread: "This is My body." And so in petitioning for daily bread we ask for perpetuity in Christ, and indivisibility from His body.

19. Touching the days of stations, most think that they must not be present at the sacrificial prayers, on the ground that the station must be dissolved by reception of the Lord's Body. Does then the Eucharist cancel a service devoted to God, or bind it more to God? Will not your station be more solemn if you have withal stood at God's altar? When the Lord's Body has been received and reserved, each point is secured, both the participation of the sacrifice and the discharge of duty.

[In Tertullian a *Station* signifies a fast on certain fixed days, lasting for a longer or shorter definite time. Later, the term as used by S. Ambrose had a military association as an encampment against the devil's attack, and Tertullian anticipates the military sense in the connection of this quotation and in "De Coronâ Militis." It came afterwards to signify a place where a halt in processions was made in order that certain offices of Divine worship might be performed, sometimes the Eucharist itself. Thence the

processions were themselves called Stations. In the Greek Church, where all had to stand, there being no seats, it denoted an assembly of the faithful in Church, especially on the Lord's day. The modern use of the term for certain devotions in front of representations of incidents in our Lord's Passion has no example before the Middle Ages.

Tertullian's argument here prepares the way for that association of stations with the Eucharist which a corresponding word for the Sacred Oblation in the ritual of Israel may have given rise to in early Christian thought.]

28. (Prayer) is the spiritual victim which has abolished the pristine sacrifices. . . . We are the true adorers and the true priests, who praying in spirit, sacrifice, in spirit, prayer, a victim proper and acceptable to God, which assuredly He has required, which He has provided for Himself. This victim, devoted from the whole heart, fed on faith, tended by truth, entire in innocence, pure in chastity, garlanded with love, we ought to escort with the pomp of good works, amid psalms and hymns, unto God's altar, to obtain for us all things from God.

(4) On Baptism.

6. After the pledging both of the attestation of faith and the promise of salvation under "three witnesses," there is added of necessity, mention of the Church, inasmuch as, wherever there are three (that

is, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit), there is the Church, which is a body of three.

7. After this, when we have issued from the font, we are thoroughly anointed with a blessed unction, from the old discipline wherein on entering the priesthood they were wont to be anointed with oil from a horn, ever since Aaron was anointed by Moses.

8. In the next place the hand is laid upon us, invoking and inviting the Holy Spirit through benediction.

14. Preaching (1 Cor. i. 17) is the prior thing, baptising the posterior. Therefore the preaching came first; but I think baptising withal was [lawful] to him to whom preaching was.

17. Of giving it (baptism), the chief priest (summus sacerdos who is the bishop) has the right. In the next place, the presbyters and deacons, yet not without the bishop's authority, on account of the honour of the Church, which being preserved, peace is preserved. Besides these, even laymen have the right, for what is equally received can be equally given. Unless bishops and priests or deacons be on the spot, disciples are called. The word of the Lord ought not to be hidden by any; in like manner, too, baptism, which is equally God's property, can be administered by all. But how much more is the rule of reverence and modesty incumbent on laymen, seeing that these belong to their superiors, lest they

assume to themselves the specific function of the bishop. Emulation of the episcopal office is the mother of schisms . . . Let it suffice assuredly, in cases of necessity, to avail yourself [of your power of baptising—so Œhler] if at any time circumstance either of place, or of time, or of person, compels you. [Women, however, not to baptise.]

(5) On Repentance.

6. To approach it (baptism) by stealth, indeed, and to get the minister appointed over this business misled by your asseverations, is easy; but God takes foresight for His own treasure, and suffers not the unworthy to steal a march upon it.

10. In a company of two is the Church, but the Church is Christ. When, therefore, you cast yourself at the brethren's knees, you are handling Christ, you are entreating Christ. In like manner, when they shed tears over you, it is Christ Who suffers, Christ Who prays the Father for mercy.

(6) On Prescription against Heretics.

3. But what if a bishop, if a deacon, if a widow, if a virgin, if a doctor, if even a martyr were fallen from the rule, will heresies on that account appear to possess the truth? Do we prove the faith by the persons, or the persons by the faith?

6. We, however, are not permitted to cherish any

object after our own will, nor yet to make choice of that which another has introduced of his private fancy. In the Lord's Apostles we possess our authority; for even they did not of themselves choose to introduce anything, but faithfully delivered to the nations the doctrine (disciplinam) which they had received from Christ.

7. With our faith, we desire no further belief. For this is our primary faith, that there is nothing which we ought to believe besides.

19. For wherever it shall be manifest that the true Christian rule of faith shall be, there will likewise be the true Scriptures and expositions thereof and all the Christian traditions.

20. They [the Apostles taught and sent by Christ] obtained the promised power of the Holy Ghost for the gift of miracles and of utterance, and after first bearing witness of the faith in Jesus Christ throughout Judæa and founding churches, they next went forth into the world and preached the same doctrine of the same faith to the nations. They then, in like manner, founded churches in every city, from which all the other churches, one after another, derived the tradition of the faith, and the seeds of doctrine, and are every day deriving them, that they may become churches. Indeed it is on this account only that they will be able to deem themselves Apostolic, as being the offspring of Apostolic churches. Every sort of thing must necessarily

revert to its original for its classification. Therefore the churches, although they are so many and so great, comprise but the one primitive Church [founded] by the Apostles, from whom they all [spring]. In this way all are primitive, and all are Apostolic, whilst they are all proved to be one, in unity by their peaceful communion, and title of brotherhood, and bond of hospitality—privileges (rights) which no other rule directs than the one tradition of the self-same mystery.

21. From this, therefore, do we draw up our rule. Since the Lord Jesus Christ sent the Apostles to preach, that no others ought to be received as preachers than those whom Christ appointed. . . . All doctrine which agrees with the Apostolic churches—those wombs and original sources of the faith—must be reckoned for truth, as undoubtedly containing that which the churches received from the Apostles, the Apostles from Christ, Christ from God. Whereas all doctrine must be prejudged as false which savours of contrariety to the truth of the churches and Apostles of Christ and God. . . . We hold communion with the Apostolic churches because our doctrine is in no respect different. This is witness of truth.

29. During the interval [until the Marcionites and Valentinians arose] the gospel was wrongly preached ; men wrongly believed ; so many thousand thousands were wrongly baptised . . . so many priestly functions, so many ministries were wrongly executed [sarcastic].

32. But if there be any (heresies) which are bold enough to plant themselves in the midst of the Apostolic age, that they may thereby seem to have been handed down by the Apostles, because they existed in the time of the Apostles, we can say: Let them then produce the original records of their churches; let them unfold the roll of their bishops, running down in due succession from the beginning in such a manner that their first distinguished bishop shall be able to show for his ordainer and predecessor some one of the Apostles or of Apostolic men—a man, moreover, who continued stedfast with the Apostles. For this is the manner in which the Apostolic churches transmit their registers. . . . Let the heretics contrive something of the same kind. . . . But should they even effect the contrivance, they will not advance a step. For their very doctrine, after comparison with that of the Apostles, will declare by its own diversity and contrariety that it had for its author neither an Apostle nor an Apostolic man. . . . To this test, therefore, will they be submitted for proof by these churches who, although they derive not their founder from Apostles or Apostolic men (as being of much later date, for they are in fact being founded daily), yet, since they agree in the same faith, they are accounted as not less Apostolic because they are akin in doctrine.

36. Run over the Apostolic churches in which the very thrones (cathedræ) of the Apostles are still

pre-eminent in their places, in which their own authentic writings are read, uttering the voice and representing the face of each of them severally. Achaia is very near to you, you find Corinth. Since you are not far from Macedonia, you have Philippi, you have the Thessalonians. Since you are able to cross to Asia, you get Ephesus. Since, moreover, you are close on Italy, you have Rome, from which there comes into our hands the very authority. How happy is its church, on which Apostles poured forth all their doctrine along with their blood! Where Peter endures a passion like his Lord's! Where Paul wins his crown in a death like John's (the Baptist's)! Where the Apostle John was first plunged, unhurt, into boiling oil, and thence remitted to his island-exile! See what she has learned, what taught, what fellowship has had even with churches in Africa. One Lord God does she acknowledge, the Creator of the Universe, and Christ Jesus of the Virgin Mary, the Son of God, the Creator, and the Resurrection of the flesh; the law and the prophets she unites in one volume (miscet) with the writings of evangelists and Apostles, from which she drinks in her faith: this she seals with the water, arrays with the Holy Ghost, feeds with the Eucharist, cheers with martyrdom, and against such a discipline thus she admits no gainsayer.

37. Since this is the case, in order that the truth may be adjudged to belong to us, "as many as walk according to the rule" which the Church has handed

down from the Apostles, the Apostles from Christ, Christ from God, the reason of our position is clear, when it determines that heretics ought not to be allowed to challenge an appeal to the Scriptures, since we, without the Scriptures, prove that they have nothing to do with the Scriptures. For as they are heretics they cannot be true Christians, because it is not from Christ that they get that which they pursue of their own mere choice, and from the pursuit incur and admit the name of heretics (αἱρετικοί, choosers). Thus, not being Christians, they have acquired no right to the Christian Scriptures, and it may be very fairly said to them, Who are you? . . . By whose permission are you diverting the streams of my fountain? By what power are you removing my landmarks? . . . This is my property. I have long possessed it. I possessed it before you. I hold sure title-deeds from the original holders themselves, to whom the estate belonged. I am the heir of the Apostles. Just as they carefully prepared their will and testament, and committed it to a trust, and adjured, even so do I hold it.

41. Their (heretics) ordinations are carelessly administered, capricious, changeable. . . . To-day one man is their bishop, to-morrow, another; to-day he is a deacon who to-morrow is a reader; to-day he is a presbyter who to-morrow is a layman. For even on laymen do they impose the functions of priesthood [*i.e.* the functions of the official priesthood].

43. Where the fear of God is, there is seriousness, an honourable and yet thoughtful diligence, as well as an anxious carefulness, and a well-considered admission (to the sacred ministry) and a safely-guarded communion, and promotion after good service, and a scrupulous submission (to authority) and a devout attendance, and a modest gait, and a united church, and God in all things.

Tertullian as a Montanist.

I. Defending the Church.

(1) De Coronâ.

3. When we are going to enter the water, but a little before, in the presence of the congregation, and under the hand of the president, we solemnly profess that we disown the devil, and his pomp, and his angels. . . . We take also, in meetings before day-break, and from the hand of none but the presidents, the sacrament of the Eucharist which the Lord hath commanded to be eaten at meal times, and enjoined to be taken by all. . . . We feel pained should any bread or wine, even though our own, be cast upon the ground. . . . In all the ordinary actions of daily life, we trace on the forehead the sign [of the Cross].

4. If for these and other such rules you insist on having positive Scripture injunction, you will find none. Tradition will be held forth to you as the

originator of them, custom as their strengthener, and faith as their observer. That reason will support tradition and custom and faith, you will either yourself perceive, or learn from some one who has.

Meanwhile you will believe that there is some reason to which submission is due. . . . If I nowhere find a law, it follows that tradition has given custom the fashion in question at some future time to have the Apostle's sanction, in his unfolding the true interpretation of its reason.

9. We are temples of God, and altars, and lights, and sacred vessels.

(2) On Flight in Persecution.

xi. But when persons in authority themselves—I mean the very deacons and presbyters and bishops—take to flight, how will a layman be able to see with what view it was said, Flee from city to city?

(3) On Exhortation to Chastity.

7. Among us the precept is more fully and more carefully laid down that they who are chosen into the sacerdotal order must be men of one marriage. . . . Vain shall we be if we think that what is not lawful for priests is lawful for laics. Are not even we laics priests? It is written, "A kingdom also, and priests also to His God and Father hath He made us." It is the authority of the Church, and the

honour which has acquired sanctity through the joint session of the order, which has established the difference between the order and the laity. Accordingly, where there is no joint session of the ecclesiastical order, you offer, and baptise, and are a priest, alone for yourselves. But where three are, a church is, albeit they be laics. For each individual lives by his own faith. . . . Therefore, if you have the right of a priest in your own person, in cases of necessity, it behoves you to have likewise the discipline of a priest whenever it may be necessary to have the right of a priest. . . . God wills us all to be so conditioned, as to be ready at all times and places to undertake His Sacraments. There is "one God, one faith," one discipline too. So truly is this the case, that unless the laics as well observe the rules which are to guide the choice of presbyters, how will there be presbyters who are chosen to that office from among the laics?

II. Defending the Paraclete.

(1) De Animâ.

i. 17. The wine which He consecrated in memory of His Blood.

(2) Antidote for the Scorpion's Sting.

10. Heaven lies open to the Christian before the way to it does; because there is no way to heaven, but to him to whom heaven lies open; and he who

reaches it will enter. What powers keeping guard at the gate do I hear you to affirm to exist in accordance with Roman superstition, with a certain Carnus or Torculus, and a Limentinus? What powers do you set in order at the railings? If you have ever read in David, "Lift up your gates" (Ps. xxiv. 7), if you have also heard from Amos, "Who buildeth up to the heavens his way of ascent" (Amos ix. 6), know that both that way of ascent was thereafter levelled with the ground, by the footsteps of the Lord, and an entrance thereafter opened up by the might of Christ, and that no delay or inquest will meet Christians on the threshold, since they have there to be not discriminated from one another, but owned, and not put to the question, but received in. For though you think heaven still shut, remember that the Lord left here to Peter, and through him to the Church, the keys of it, which every one who has here been put to the question and also made confession, will carry with him.

(3) On Monogamy.

7. Us, moreover, Jesus the Father's Highest and Great Priest, clothing us from His own store, inasmuch as they "who are baptised in Christ have put on Christ," has made priests to God His Father, according to John (Rev. i. 6). For the reason why He recalls that young man who was hastening to his father's obsequies is that He may show that we are

called priests by Him ; whom the law used to forbid to be present at the sepulture of parents.

12. [The argument of this chapter is that bishops and the laity belong to the one common priesthood of the Christian people out of which the ecclesiastical orders are ordained as overseers and presidents, and that therefore the sacerdotal discipline is binding upon all, which if it be repudiated, the supply of bishops and presidents is cut off. The bishops and presidents are one in character with the laity ; the difference between them is that of ordination to ecclesiastical order.]

(4) On Modesty.

1. The Pontifex Maximus, that is, the bishop of bishops, issues an edict [sarcastic].

21. But I will descend even to this point of contest now, making a separation between the doctrine of Apostles and their power. Discipline governs a man, power sets a seal upon him ; apart from the fact that power is the Spirit, but the Spirit is God. . . . Who, moreover, was able to forgive sins? This is His alone prerogative. . . . And so, if it were agreed that even the blessed Apostles had granted any such indulgence, the pardon of which (comes) from God, not from man, it would be competent to have done so, not in the exercise of discipline but of power. For they raised the dead, etc., which God alone can do. . . . Exhibit, therefore, even now to me, Apostolic

Sir [the Sovereign Pontiff, the bishop of bishops —ironical] prophetic evidences, that I may recognise your divine virtue, and vindicate to yourself the power of remitting such sins. If, however, you have had the functions of discipline alone allotted to you, and of presiding not imperially, but ministerially, who or how great are you, that you should grant indulgence, who, by exhibiting neither the prophetic nor the Apostolic character, lack that virtue whose property it is to indulge? But you say "the Church has the power of forgiving sins." . . . I now inquire into your opinion (to see) from what source you usurp this right to "the Church." If, because the Lord has said to Peter, "Upon this rock will I build My Church;" "To thee have I given the keys of the kingdom of heaven;" or "Whatsoever thou shalt have bound and loosed in earth, shall be bound or loosed in the heavens," you therefore presume that the power of binding and loosing has derived to you, that is, to every church akin to Peter, what sort of man are you, subverting and wholly changing the manifest intention of the Lord, conferring this personally upon Peter? "On thee," He says, "I will build My Church," and "I will give to thee the keys," not to the Church, and "Whatsoever thou shalt have loosed or bound," not what they shall have loosed or bound. For so withal the result teaches. Peter was the first to unbar (Acts ii.), in Christ's baptism, the entrance to the heavenly kingdom, in which

kingdom are loosed the things that were before-time bound.... And Ananias he bound with the bond of death, and the weak in his feet he absolved from his defect of health. Moreover in that dispute about the observance or non-observance of the law, Peter was the first of all to be endued with the Spirit (Acts xv. 7–11). This sentence both loosed those parts of the law which were abandoned, and bound those which were reserved. Hence the power of loosing and of binding committed to Peter had nothing to do with the capital sins of believers. What now (has this to do) with the Church, and yours indeed,—psychic. For in accordance with the person of Peter, it is to spiritual men that this power will correspondently pertain, either to an Apostle or else to a prophet. For the very Church itself is, properly and principally, the Spirit Himself in Whom is the Trinity of the One Divinity—Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. (The Spirit) combines that Church which the Lord has made to consist in "three." And thus from that time forward, every number who may have combined together into this faith is accounted a church, from the Author and Consecrator. And accordingly "the Church," it is true, will forgive sins; but the Church of the Spirit, by means of a spiritual man—not the Church which consists of a number of bishops. For the right and arbitrament is the Lord's, not the servant's; God's Himself, not the priest's.

(5) On Fasting.

17. "Double honour" is with you assigned to your presiding ones (elders) by double shares (of meat and drink), whereas the Apostle has given them double honour as being both brethren and officers.

(6) On the Veiling of Virgins.

9. It is not permitted to a woman to speak in the church; but neither to teach, nor to baptise, nor to offer, nor to claim to herself a lot in any manly function, not to say sacerdotal office.

(7) Against Marcion.

iv. 6. Although Marcion rejects his (S. John's) Apocalypse, the order of the bishops (thereof) when traced up to their origin will yet rest on John as their author. In the same manner is recognised the excellent source of the other churches.

9. For the figurative signs of the law in its types He still would have observed, because of their prophetic import. These types [connected with leprosy] signified that a man once a sinner, but afterwards purified from the stains thereof by the Word of God, was bound to offer unto God in the temple a gift, even prayer and thanksgiving in the Church through Christ Jesus, Who is the Catholic Priest of the Father.

40. Then having taken the bread and given it to His disciples, He made it His own body by saying,

"This is My body," that is, the figure of My body. A figure, however, there could not have been, unless there were first a veritable body (see also Resurrection of the Flesh, cxxxvii.). Constituting, therefore, His Word as the life-giving principle, because that Word is spirit and life, He likewise called His flesh by the same appellation, because too the Word had become flesh, we ought, therefore, to desire Him in order that we may have life, and to devour Him with the ear, and to ruminate on Him with the understanding, and to digest Him by faith.

v. 9. Christ is the proper and legitimate High Priest of God. He is the Pontiff of the priesthood of the uncircumcision.

(8) To Scapula.

2. We therefore sacrifice for the Emperor's safety, but to our God and his, and after the manner God has enjoined, in simple prayer. For God, Creator of the Universe, has no need of odours or of blood. (See also Against Marcion, iv. 1 : And in every place a sacrifice is offered unto My Name, even a pure offering — meaning simple prayer from a pure conscience.)

Notes.

Tertullian as still a Member of the Church.

1. The Church is a body of brethren knit together; meeting together in the love-feast, at which each

brother is asked to take some part under a president, and uniting in prayer, reading the Scriptures, exhortation, and for rebuke; and for the celebration of the Eucharist. The Church is a body of three—the Trinity; it is a company of two. The Church is Christ, and Christ is the Church. All the churches founded by the Apostles, or which are the offspring of such churches, form the one primitive Church.

2. The Jewish Law and Prophets, the first sacrifices and the ancient spiritual gifts, have been fulfilled in Christ and cease in Him Who is the Priest of the Eternal Sacrifice. The Eucharist, which is received only from the hands of the president, is participation in the Christian Sacrifice; it is spoken of as a Sacrament; in the Montanistic writings "to offer" is the term used for celebrating it, and the bread of the Eucharist is figuratively the Lord's Body on which Christians sup. The Christian sacrifices are those of prayer, and all spiritual worshippers are true priests.

3. The right to baptise belongs, on account of the honour of the Church and by the rule of reverence and modesty, first to the bishop as chief priest and thence by authority from him to presbyters and deacons. Laymen also have the right, and are to exercise it in the absence of bishop, priest, and deacon when necessity requires. The unction at baptism is the sign of the priesthood of all the baptised.

4 The three orders are recognised and are

vindicated by their faith; the terms presbyter and priest are used interchangeably.

5. The faith once delivered to the saints is the only requisite Christian belief; it is transmitted from Christ by the Apostles, and thence by Apostolic men and churches; it is to be tested by the Scriptures, which heretics have no right to use, and by the episcopal succession, which in turn is to be tested by Apostolic tradition. Apostolic doctrine, episcopal succession from the Apostles, and Apostolic Scripture are the notes of the true Church.

Tertullian as a Montanist.

1. Every one who confesses Christ carries with him the keys of heaven.

2. The president baptises and alone administers the sacrament of the Eucharist; there is no definite Scriptural injunction for this, but such customs are supported by tradition, custom, faith, and reason.

Presiding elders are officers of the brotherhood of which they form a part.

3. A sacerdotal order is spoken of, and laics are priests. Where three laics are there is a church. The sanctity of the sacerdotal order is due to the authority of the Church. Those who are baptised into Christ are thereby, as having put on Christ, made priests unto God, being clothed by Jesus the High Priest out of His own store.

4. The power of the forgiveness of sins belongs to

God alone; if the power belonged to the Apostles it was theirs by delegation, and the power of working miracles was a co-ordinate delegation without which the claim to the power of forgiving sins cannot be substantiated.

Peter's binding and loosing was the exercise of doctrinal discipline, not of power. The Church possesses only this same function of discipline, and that not the psychical and episcopal Church, but the spiritual Church through the spiritual man, because the Church is the Spirit. The arbitrament is God's, not the priest's.

5. Christ is the Catholic High Priest of God, through Whom sinners purified from their stains are to offer to God prayers and thanksgivings.

6. Tertullian recognises the universal priesthood of Christians, out of which the official priesthood is chosen and ordained.

Confirmation.—The three Orders and Apostolical Succession.

The character of Official Ministry as priestly (sacerdotal), presidential and administrative of Holy Scripture.

The spiritual and sacramental character of Baptism.

The spiritual, sacramental, commemorative, and life-sustaining character of the Eucharist.

Variation.—The Eucharist is referred to as a

sacrifice, and to partake of it is described as to "sup on God." Reservation of the Lord's Body.

22. *Origen.*

ALEXANDRIA, PALESTINE, ACHAIA, ASIA MINOR, ARABIA, ROME, A.D. 219–253.

Origen was born, probably at Alexandria, A.D. 185–6, and became the head of the Catechetical School there. Though a layman, he was recognised as a leading teacher, and his work was not confined within any district. A tumult arising in Alexandria he took refuge in Palestine, and at Cæsarea, though still a layman, publicly expounded the Scriptures at the request of Theoctistus, Bishop of Cæsarea. He returned to Alexandria *c.* A.D. 219. He visited Achaia, Ephesus, and Athens, and was ordained presbyter at Cæsarea, where he spent the last twenty years of his life. While at Cæsarea he visited Cappadocia, Jericho, Jerusalem, the valley of the Jordan, Sidon, Arabia, and Tyre, at which latter place he died A.D. 253.

(1) De Principiis.

Preface. 2. Since, however, many of those who profess to believe in Christ differ from each other, not only in small and trifling matters, but also on subjects of the highest importance, as, *e.g.* regarding God, or the Lord Jesus Christ, or the Holy Spirit; and not only

regarding these, but also regarding others which are created existences, viz. the powers and the holy virtues; it seems on that account necessary first of all to fix a definite limit, and to lay down an unmistakable rule regarding each one of these, and then to pass to the investigation of other points. For as we ceased to seek for truth (notwithstanding the professions of many among Greeks and Barbarians to make it known) among all who claimed it for erroneous opinions, after we had come to believe that Christ was the Son of God, and were persuaded that we must learn it from Himself; so seeing there are many who think they hold the opinions of Christ, and yet some of these think differently from their predecessors, yet as the teaching of the Church, transmitted in orderly succession from the Apostles, and remaining in the churches to the present day, is still preserved, that alone is to be accepted as truth which differs in no respect from ecclesiastical and Apostolical tradition.

Book IV. i. 3. But if the prophet's words be true when he says, "The children of Israel shall abide many days without king, without prince, and there shall be no victim, nor altar, nor priesthood;" and if certainly, since the overthrow of the temple, victims are neither offered, nor any altar found, nor any priesthood exists, it is most certain that, as it is written, Princes have departed from Judah, and a leader from between his thighs until the coming of Him for Whom it has been reserved. It

is established, then, that He has come for Whom it has been reserved, and in Whom is the expectation of the Gentiles.

Now, the reason of the erroneous apprehension on all these points on the part of those whom we have mentioned above [Jews who expected a temporal salvation, and heretics who believed in two Gods—one the creator of visible things, the other the creator of things invisible] is no other than this, that Holy Scripture is not understood by them according to its spiritual, but according to its literal, meaning. And therefore we shall endeavour, so far as our moderate capacity will permit, to point out to those who believe the Holy Scriptures to be no human composition, but to be written by inspiration of the Holy Spirit, and to be transmitted and entrusted to us by the will of God the Father, through His only begotten Son Jesus Christ, what appears to us, who observe things by a right way of understanding, to be the standard and discipline delivered to the Apostles by Jesus Christ, and which they handed down in succession to their posterity, the teachers of the Holy Church.

(2) Contra Celsum.

iii. 30. For the Church (ἐκκλησία) of God which is at Athens is a meek and stable body, as being one which desires to please God Who is over all things; whereas the assembly (ἐκκλησία) of the Athenians is

given to sedition and is not at all to be compared with the Church of God in that city. . . . In like manner, also, in comparing the council (*βουλήν*) of the Church of God with the council in any city, you would find that certain councillors (*βουλευταί*) of the Church are worthy to rule in the city of God, if there be any such city in the whole world. . . . And so, too, you must compare the ruler of the Church in each city with the ruler of the people of the city in order to observe that even amongst these councillors and rulers of the Church of God (*βουλευτῶν καὶ ἀρχόντων ἐκκλησίας Θεοῦ*) who come very far short of their duty, and who lead more indolent lives than others who are more energetic, it is nevertheless possible to discover a general superiority in what relates to the progress of virtue over the characters of the councillors and rulers in the various cities (*ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι βουλευτων καὶ ἀρχόντων*).

56. Those amongst us who are teachers of the Word.

75. Although we give instruction, we never say "Give heed to me," but "Give heed to the God of all things, and to Jesus the giver of instruction concerning Him." And none of us is so great a braggart as to say, what Celsus put into the mouth of one of our teachers to his acquaintances, "I alone will save you." Observe here the lies which he utters against us.

v. 4. Every prayer and supplication and intercession and thanksgiving is to be sent up to the Supreme

God through the High Priest, Who is above all the angels, the living Word and God. (See also iv. 34.)

vi. 5. The simple language of the Holy Scriptures has led to their honest readers being filled with a Divine Spirit.

10. We do not say to each of our hearers, "Believe first of all that He Whom I introduce to thee is the Son of God," but we put the gospel before each one, as his character and disposition may fit him to receive it, inasmuch as we have learned to know "how we ought to answer every man."

viii. 1. And as Paul said, "We are ambassadors for Christ, as though God did beseech you by us," so would we in the same spirit and language earnestly desire to be ambassadors for Christ to men, even as the Word of God beseeches them to the love of Himself, seeking to win over to righteousness, truth, and the other virtues, those who, until they receive the doctrines of Jesus Christ, live in darkness about God and in ignorance of their Creator.

13. To the Son we first present them (prayers) and beseech Him as "the propitiation for our sins" and our High Priest, to offer our desires and sacrifices and prayers to the Most High.

17. We regard the spirit of every good man as an altar from which arises an incense which is truly and spiritually sweet smelling, namely the prayers ascending from a pure conscience.

21. That man truly celebrates a feast who does his

duty and prays always, offering up continually bloodless sacrifices in prayer to God.

22. He who considers that "Christ our Passover was sacrificed for us," and that it is his duty to keep the feast by eating of the flesh of the Word, never ceases to keep the Paschal Feast; for the Pascha means a "Passover," and he is ever striving in all his thoughts, words and deeds to pass over from the things of this life to God.

33. Let Celsus, as one who knows not God, give thankofferings to demons. But we give thanks to the Creator of all, and along with thanksgiving and prayer for the blessings we have received, we also eat the bread presented to us; and this bread becomes by prayer a sacred body which sanctifies those who sincerely partake of it.

57. We have a symbol of gratitude to God in the bread which we call the Eucharist.

73. You never enlist the priests (heathen) in the army. If that then is a laudable custom, how much more so, that while others are engaged in battle, these too [Christians generally] should engage as the priests and ministers of God on behalf of those who are fighting in a righteous cause, and for the king who reigns righteously, that whatever is opposed to those who act righteously may be destroyed.

75. We recognise in each state the existence of another national organisation, founded by the Word of God, and we exhort those who are mighty in

word and of blameless life to rule over churches. Those who are ambitious of ruling we reject; but we constrain those who, through excess of modesty, are not easily induced to take a public charge in the Church of God. And those who rule over us well are under the constraining influence of the great King Whom we believe to be the Son of God, God the Word. And if those who govern in the Church, and are called rulers of the divine nation—that is, the Church—rule well, they rule in accordance with the Divine commands, and never suffer themselves to be led astray by worldly policy. And it is not for the purpose of escaping public duties that Christians decline public offices, but that they may reserve themselves for a diviner and more necessary service in the Church of God—for the salvation of men. And this service is at once necessary and right. They take charge of all—of those that are within, that they may day by day lead better lives; and of those that are without, that they may come to abound in holy words and deeds of piety; and that, while worshipping God truly, and training up as many as they can in the same way, they may be filled with the Word of God and the law of God, and thus be united with the Supreme God through His Son the Word, wisdom, truth and righteousness, Who unites to God all who are resolved to conform their lives in all things to the law of God.

Commentary on the Gospel of John.

i. 3. Those who devote themselves to the Divine Word and have no other employment than the service of God, may not unnaturally, allowing for the difference of occupation in the two cases, be called our Levites and priests. And those who fulfil a more distinguished office than their kinsmen will perhaps be high-priests, according to the order of Aaron, not that of Melchisedek. Here some one may object that it is somewhat too bold to apply the name of high priests to men, when Jesus is Himself spoken of in many a prophetic passage as the one Great Priest, as "We have a great High Priest Who has passed through the heavens, Jesus, the Son of God" (Heb. iv. 14). But to this we reply that the Apostle clearly defined his meaning, and declared the prophet to have said about the Christ, "Thou art a Priest for ever according to the order of Melchisedek," and not according to the order of Aaron. We say accordingly that men can be high priests according to the order of Aaron; but according to the order of Melchisedek, only the Christ of God. (See also on Gen. xvi. 51.)

11. Able ministers of the new covenant. [This, together with "ambassadors," is a favourite term with Origen.]

40. He is a great High Priest, having offered Himself as the sacrifice which is offered once for all.

On Luke.

Homily ix. 9. If I mortify every lust of the flesh, I have been a priest of my own holocaust.

x. 13. We eat the flesh of the Lamb, with bitter herbs and unleavened bread, when we repent of our sins and grieve with the sorrow which is according to God.

On Leviticus.

vii. 1. The disciples of Christ are true priests.

Commentary on the Gospel of Matthew.

xi. 14. Now, some one when dealing with the passage might say that just as "not that which entereth into the mouth defileth the man" . . . so not that which entereth into the mouth sanctifieth the man, even though what is called the bread of the Lord may be thought by the simpler disciples to sanctify. And the saying is, I think, not to be despised, and on this account demands clear exposition, which seems to me to be thus: As it is not the meat but the conscience of him who eats with doubt which defiles him that eateth . . . and as nothing is pure to him who is defiled and unbelieving, not in itself, but because of his defilement and unbelief, so that which is sanctified through the Word of God and prayer does not in its own nature sanctify him who uses it, for if this were so, it would sanctify even him

who eats unworthily of the bread of the Lord, and no one on account of this food would become weak or sickly or asleep. . . . Now, if everything that entereth into the mouth goes into the belly and is cast out into the draught, even the meat which has been sanctified through the Word of God and prayer, in accordance with the fact that it is material, goes into the belly and is cast out into the draught, but in respect of the prayer which comes upon it, according to the proportion of the faith, becomes a benefit and is a means of clear vision to the mind which looks to that which is beneficial, and it is not the material of the bread, but the word which is said over it which is of advantage to him who eats it not unworthily of the Lord. And these things indeed are said of the typical and symbolical body. But many things might be said about the Word Himself Who became flesh and true meat, of which he that eateth shall assuredly live for ever, no worthless person being able to eat it, for if it were possible for one who continues worthless to eat of Him Who became flesh, Who was the Word and the living bread, it could not have been written that "Every one who eats of this bread shall live for ever."

xii. 10. If we too have said, like Peter, "Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God," not as if flesh and blood had revealed it unto us, but by the light from the Father in heaven having shone into our heart, we become a Peter, and to us there might be

said by the Word, "Thou art Peter." For a rock is every disciple of Christ . . . and upon every such rock is built every word of the Church, and the policy in accordance with it. See also 11. All bear the surname of "rock" who are imitators of Christ.

14. Consider how great power every one has who says, "Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God," so that the judgments of this man abide sure, as if God were judging in him, that in the very act of judging the gates of Hades shall not prevail against him. . . . Wherefore he has the keys of the kingdom of heaven, opening to those who have been loosed on earth that they may be also loosed in heaven and free; and shutting to those who by his just judgment have been bound on earth, that they may also be bound in heaven and condemned. But when those who maintain the function of the episcopate make use of this word as Peter, and having received the keys of the kingdom of heaven from the Saviour, teach that things bound by them, that is to say condemned, are also bound in heaven, and that those who have obtained remission from them are also loosed in heaven, we must say that they speak wholesomely if they have the way of life on account of which it was said to Peter "Thou art Peter," and if they are such that upon them the Church is built by Christ, and to them this with good reason could be referred. . . . But if he is tightly bound with the cords of his sins to no purpose does he bind and loose. . . . And if

any one who is not a Peter and does not possess the things here spoken of, imagines as a Peter that he will so bind on earth that the things bound on earth are bound in heaven, he is puffed up, not understanding the meaning of the Scriptures, and being puffed up, has fallen into the ruin of the devil.

Notes.

1. The teaching of the Church has been transmitted in orderly succession from the Apostles. The Holy Scriptures are inspired, and their simple language leads honest readers to be filled with a Divine Spirit. Origen, however (see p. 142, iv. 9), attributes a mistaken apprehension of Scripture to a literal as distinguished from a spiritual interpretation, and he arrives at the spiritual meaning by allegorical methods.

2. Teachers of the Holy Church are the posterity of the Apostles; they are ambassadors for Christ, seeking to win men to righteousness; able ministers of the New Covenant. The ministry of the Church directs men to Christ.

3. Rulers over churches are chosen from those who are mighty in word and blameless in life; right ruling consists in ruling according to the commandments of Christ.

4. Christians generally are referred to as the priests and ministers of God, and they intercede on behalf of the victory of righteous kings.

5. The spirit of a good man is an altar from which the acceptable incense of prayer ascends.

6. The Christian mysteries are the doctrines which were spoken in private by Jesus to His genuine disciples.

7. The privileges assigned to Peter (the possession of the keys, and of binding and loosing) belong equally to all who are Peter's in their confession of Christ and consistent in the spirit and practice of their lives, and no official position can be a substitute for Christian character.

8. Levite and priest may be used as descriptive terms for those who are wholly occupied in the service of God, and high priest for those whose services excel, allowing for the differences of occupation in each case, and as corresponding to the Aaronic priesthood, but not in any way trenching on the High Priesthood of Christ after the order of Melchisedek.

9. The sacrifice and priesthood of the former covenant have ceased in the coming of Christ.

10. Jesus is the High Priest Who conveys to God prayers, intercessions, thanksgivings, and sacrifices.

11. The assembly of the Athenians, their council and rulers, are compared in identical terms with the Church of God, its councils and rulers.

12. The Eucharistic bread is said to become by prayer a sacred body.

Confirmation.—The character of Official Ministry as priestly, presidential, administrative of Holy Scripture and non-exclusive of the ministry of teaching and exhortation.

The spiritual and sacramental character of the Eucharist. (See especially Comm. Matthew xi. 14.)

23. *Dionysius of Alexandria.*

ALEXANDRIA, ANTIOCH, CÆSAREA, JERUSALEM, TYRE, LAODICEA, CILICIA, AND CAPPADOCIA, A.D. 232–265.

Dionysius was ordained presbyter A.D. 232, and almost immediately became head of the Catechetical School of Alexandria; he became Bishop of Alexandria A.D. 247–8, and died A.D. 265. He took an active part in the controversies of his time, and his correspondence covered a wide area.

On the Promises.

i. 2. I called together the presbyters and the teachers among the brethren in the villages.

To the Pontiff Stephen.

All those at the head of the churches everywhere are of one mind. I may mention Demetrianus in Antioch, Theoctistus in Cæsarea, etc. For I have named only the more illustrious of the bishops.

Epistle ix.

For I should not dare to renew afresh, after all, one who had heard the giving of thanks, and who had answered with others Amen; who had stood at the holy table and had stretched forth his hands to receive the blessed food, and had received it, and for a very long time had been a partaker of the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ.

Epistle xii. 4.

Yea, the very best of our brethren have departed this life in this manner, including some presbyters and some deacons, and among the people those who were in highest reputation.

On Ecclesiastes ii. 25.

For no one shall partake of the spiritual table, but one who is called by Him and has listened to the wisdom which says "Take and eat."

Notes.

Bishops are called presidents.

Presbyters and teachers are spoken of as distinct classes.

Confirmation.—The three Orders.

The presidential character of official ministry.

The spiritual, sacramental, eucharistic, and life-sustaining character of the Lord's Supper.

24. *S. Cyprian.*

AFRICA, A.D. 248–258.

S. Cyprian, "the first of Church organisers," was Bishop of Carthage A.D. 248–249 to his martyrdom, A.D. 258.

The Epistles.

v. (Oxford edition, xiv.). *To the Presbyters and Deacons.* 4. In respect of that which our fellow presbyters, Donatus and Fortunatus, Novatus and Gordius, wrote to me, I have not been able to reply by myself, since from the first commencement of my episcopacy I made up my mind to do nothing on my private opinion without your advice, and without the consent of the people. But as soon as by the grace of God I shall have come to you, then we will discuss in common, as our respective dignity requires, those things which either have been or are to be done.

ix. (Ox. ed. xvi.). *To the Clergy, concerning certain presbyters who had rashly granted peace to the lapsed before the persecution had been appeased, and without the privity of the bishops.* 1. For what danger ought we

not to fear from the Lord's displeasure, when some of the presbyters, remembering neither the gospel nor their own place, and, moreover, considering neither the Lord's future judgment nor the bishop now placed over them, claim to themselves entire authority (a thing which was never in anywise done under our predecessors), with discredit and contempt of the bishop.

xi. (Ox. ed. xvii.). *To the People.* 2. I hear that certain of the presbyters, neither mindful of the gospel nor considering what the martyrs have written to me, nor reserving to the bishop the honour of his priesthood and his dignity, have already begun to communicate with the lapsed, and to offer on their behalf, and to give them the Eucharist, when it was fitting that they should attain to these things in due course. . . . No one can come to the Communion unless the hands of the bishop and clergy be first imposed upon him. . . . This warning, indeed, our presbyters and deacons ought to have given you, that they might cherish the sheep committed to their care, and by the Divine authority might instruct them in the way of obtaining salvation by prayer.

3. Let them look for my return that, when by God's mercy I come to you, I, with many of my co-bishops, being called together according to the Lord's discipline, and in the presence of the confessors, and with your opinion also, may be able

to examine the letters and wishes of the blessed martyrs.

xii. (Ox. ed. xviii.). *To the Clergy.* 1. Since, however, I see that there is not yet any opportunity of coming to you, . . . I think that our brethren must be dealt with, that they who have received certificates from the martyrs, and may be assisted by their privilege with God, if they should be seized with any misfortune and peril of sickness, should, without waiting for my presence, before any presbyter who might be present, or if a presbyter should not be found, and death begins to be imminent, before even a deacon, be able to make confession of their sin, that with the imposition of hands upon them for repentance, they should come to the Lord with the peace which the martyrs have desired, by these letters to us, to be granted to them.

xiii. (Ox. ed. xix.). *To the Clergy.* 1. Now he repents who, remembering the Divine precept, with meekness and patience, and obeying the priests of God, deserves well of the Lord by his obedience and by his righteous works.

xiv. (Ox. ed. xx.). *To the Presbyters and Deacons assembled at Rome.* 2. To the presbyters and deacons also was not wanting the vigour of the priesthood; so that some, too little mindful of discipline, and

hasty with a rash precipitation, who had already begun to communicate with the lapsed, were restrained by my interposition.

xxiii. (Ox. ed. xxix.). *To the Clergy.* When with the teacher-presbyters we were carefully trying readers . . . examining, first of all, whether all things were found fitting in them which ought to be found in such as were in preparation for the clerical office.

xxvi. (Ox. ed. xxxiii.). *To the Lapsed.* 1. Our Lord, Whose precepts and admonitions we ought to observe, describing the honour of a bishop and the order of His Church, speaks in the gospel, and says to Peter (Matt. xvi. 18, 19). Thence, through the changes of times and successions, the ordering of bishops and the plan of the Church flow onward; so that the Church is founded upon the bishops, and every act of the Church is controlled by these same rulers. Since this then is founded on the Divine law, I marvel that some, with daring temerity, have chosen to write to me as if they wrote in the name of the Church, when the Church is established in the bishop and the clergy, and all who stand [fast].

xxxii. (Ox. ed. xxxviii.). *To the Clergy and People.* 2. Assist my prayers by yours, that the Lord's mercy favouring us, may soon restore both the priest

[himself—Cyprian] safe to his people, and the martyr for a reader, with the priest.

xxxiv. (Ox. ed. xl.). *To the Clergy and People.* That the Lord might add him [Numidicus the presbyter] to our clergy, and might adorn with glorious priests the number of our presbyters that had been desolated by the lapse of some.

xxxix. (Ox. ed. xliii.). *To the People.* 3. That the Lord should not be appeased through bishops and priests, but that the Lord's priests being forsaken, a new tradition of a sacrilegious appointment should arise, contrary to the Evangelical discipline . . . and all priestly authority and power is destroyed by factious conspiracies.

5. There is one God, and Christ is One, and there is one Church, and the chair founded upon the rock by the Word of the Lord. Another altar cannot be constituted or a new priesthood made, except the one altar and the one priesthood. Whoso gathereth elsewhere scattereth. . . . Let them remain outside the Church alone who have departed from the Church; let them be alone without bishops who have rebelled against bishops.

xl. (Ox. ed. xliv.). *To Cornelius.* 2. When a bishop is once made and approved by the testimony and judgment of his colleagues and the people, another can by no means be appointed. . . . If they

confess themselves to be maintainers of the gospel of Christ, they must return to the Church.

xli. (Ox. ed. xlv.). *To Cornelius.* 3. It was sufficient for you to announce yourself by letters to have been made bishop, unless there had been a dissenting faction on the other side. . . . To set this matter at rest, we judged it necessary to obtain thence the strong and decided authority of our colleagues who wrote to us ; and according to our advice weighed in wholesome reason, the minds of the brethren tossing about in this sea have sincerely and decidedly approved your priesthood.

xlvi. (Ox. ed. li.). *To Cornelius.* 2. When this error was removed, light was infused into the breasts of all, and the Catholic Church has been shown to be one, and to be able neither to be cut nor divided.

li. (Ox. ed. lv.). *To Antonianus.* 1. You wrote so that he might know that you held communion with him (Cornelius our co-bishop), that is, with the Catholic Church.

24. We ought not even to be inquisitive as to what he (Novatian) teaches, so long as he teaches out of the pale. Whoever he may be, and whatever he may be, he who is not in the Church of Christ is not a Christian. . . . He who has not maintained brotherly love or ecclesiastical unity has lost even what he

previously had been. . . . There is one Church, divided by Christ throughout the whole world into many members, and also one episcopate diffused through a harmonious multitude of many bishops.

liv. (Ox. ed. lix.). *To Cornelius.* 2. If what evil men cannot do rightly and equitably they may accomplish by daring and desperation, there is an end of the vigour of the episcopacy and of the sublime and Divine power of governing the Church.

5. When, then, such and so great examples (Deut. xvii. 12, 13; 1 Sam. viii. 7; Luke x. 16; Matt. viii. 4; John xviii. 22, 23; Acts xxiii. 4, 5 and many others) are precedents whereby the priestly authority and power by the Divine condescension is established, what kind of people, think you, are they who, being enemies of the priests and rebels against the Catholic Church, are frightened neither by the threatenings of a forewarning Lord, nor by the vengeance of coming judgment? For neither have heresies arisen, nor schisms originated from any other source than from this, that God's priest is not obeyed; nor do they consider that there is one person priest for the time in the Church, and for the time judge in the stead of Christ. . . . When He says that not even the least things (not a sparrow falls to the ground, Matt. x. 29) are done without God's will, does any one think that the highest and greatest things are done in God's Church, either without God's knowledge or permission,

and that priests—that is, His stewards—are not ordained by His decree?

14. After such things as these, moreover, they still dare—a false bishop having been appointed for them by heretics—to set sail and to bear letters from schismatic and profane persons to the throne of Peter, and to the chief Church, whence priestly unity [or the united body of (Western) bishops] sprang (*unde unitas sacerdotalis exorta est*); and not to consider that these were the Romans, whose faith was praised in the preaching of the Apostle, to whom faithlessness could have no access.

lvii. (Ox. ed. lxi.). *To Lucius.* 3. That the Lord might show which was the Church—which is its one bishop chosen by Divine authority—which presbyters are associated with the bishop in priestly honour—which is the united and true people of Christ, linked together in the love of the Lord's flock.

lxii. (Ox. ed. lxiii.). *To Cæcilius on the Sacrament of the Cup of the Lord.* 1. Although I know, dearest brother, that very many of the bishops who are set over the churches of the Lord by Divine condescension, throughout the whole world, maintain the plan of Evangelical truth, and of the tradition of the Lord, and do not by human and novel institution depart from that which Christ our Master both prescribed

and did; yet, since some, either by ignorance or simplicity, in sanctifying the cup of the Lord, and in ministry to the people, do not do that which Jesus Christ, our Lord and God, the Founder and Teacher of this sacrifice, did and taught, I have thought it as well a religious as a necessary thing to write to you this letter, that if any one is still kept in this error, he may behold the light of truth, and return to the root and origin of the tradition of the Lord.

2. When Christ says, "I am the true Vine," the blood of Christ is assuredly not water, but wine; neither can His blood, by which we are redeemed and quickened, appear to be in the cup, when in the cup there is no wine whereby the blood of Christ is shown forth, which is declared by the sacrament and testimony of all the Scriptures.

13. For because Christ bore us all, in that He also bore our sins, we see that in the water is understood the people, but in the wine is showed the blood of Christ. . . . For if any one offer wine only, the blood of Christ is disassociated from us, but if the water be alone, the people are disassociated from Christ; but when both are mingled, and are joined with one another by a close union, there is completed a spiritual and heavenly sacrament . . . just as, on the other hand, the body of the Lord cannot be flour alone or water alone, unless both should be united and joined together and compacted in the mass of one bread; in which very sacrament our people are shown to be

made one, so that in like manner as many grains, collected together and ground and mixed together into one mass, make one bread ; so in Christ, Who is the heavenly bread, we may know that there is one body, with which our number is joined and united.

14. There is then no reason, dearest brother, for any one to think that the custom of certain persons is to be followed who have thought in time past that water alone should be offered in the cup of the Lord. . . . If in the sacrifice which Christ offered none is to be followed but Christ, assuredly it behoves us to obey and do that which Christ did and what He commanded to be done. . . . For if Jesus Christ, our Lord and God, is Himself the Chief Priest of God the Father, and has first offered Himself a sacrifice to the Father, and has commanded this to be done in commemoration of Himself, certainly that priest truly discharges the office of Christ who imitates that which Christ did ; and he then offers a true and full sacrifice in the Church to God the Father, when he proceeds to offer it according to what He sees Christ Himself to have offered.

17. And because we make mention of His Passion in all sacrifices (for the Lord's Passion is the sacrifice we offer) we ought to do nothing else than what He did. For Scripture says, "For as often as ye eat this bread and drink this cup ye do show forth the Lord's death till He come." As often, therefore, as we offer the cup in commemoration of the Lord and of His

passion, let us do what it is known the Lord did.

lxiv. (Ox. ed. iii.). *To Rogatianus.* 3. But deacons ought to remember that the Lord chose Apostles, that is, bishops and overseers; while Apostles appointed for themselves deacons after the ascent of the Lord into heaven, as ministers of their episcopacy and of the Church. But if we may dare anything against God, Who makes bishops, deacons may also dare against us by whom they are made; and therefore it behoves the deacon of whom you write to repent of his audacity, and to acknowledge the honour of the priest, and to satisfy the bishop set over him with full humility.

lxv. (Ox. ed. i.). *To the Clergy and People about Victor.* 2. The bishops our predecessors religiously considering this, and wholesomely providing for it, decided that no brother departing should name a cleric for executor or guardian; and if any one should do this, no offering should be made for him, nor any sacrifice be celebrated for his repose. For he does not deserve to be named at the altar of God in the prayer of the priests, who has wished to call away the priests and ministers from the altar.

lxviii. (Ox. ed. lxvi.). *To Florentius Pupianus.* 8. They are the Church who are a people united to the priest, and the flock which adheres to its pastor. Whence you ought to know that the bishop is in the Church, and the Church in the bishop; and if any one be not with the bishop, that he is not in the Church, and that these flatter themselves in vain who creep in, not having peace with God's priests, and think that they communicate secretly with some; while the Church, which is catholic and one, is not cut nor divided, but is indeed connected and bound together by the cement of priests who cohere with one another.

10. For I remember what has been already manifested to me, nay, what has been prescribed by the authority of our Lord and God to an obedient and fearing servant; and among other things which He condescended to show and to reveal, He also added this: "Whoso therefore does not believe Christ, Who maketh the priest, shall hereafter begin to believe Him who avengeth the priest." Although I know that to some men dreams seem ridiculous and visions foolish, yet assuredly it is to such as would rather believe in opposition to the priest than believe the priest.

lxix. (Ox. ed. lxx.). *To Januarius and other Numidian Bishops.* 1. No one can be baptised abroad outside the Church, since there is one baptism

appointed in the Holy Church. (Jer. ii. 13; Prov. ix. 19, LXX.) It is required then that the water should first be cleansed and sanctified by the priest, that it may wash away by its baptism the sins of the man who is baptised (Ezek. xxxvi. 25, 26). But how can he cleanse and sanctify the water who is himself unclean, and in whom the Holy Spirit is not? (Num. xix. 2.) Or how can he who baptises give to another the remission of sins who himself, being outside the Church, cannot put away his own sins?

2. Remission of sins is not granted except in the Church; and among heretics, where there is no Church, sins cannot be put away. . . . Further, it is the Eucharist whence the baptised are anointed with the oil sanctified on the altar. But he cannot sanctify the creature of oil who has neither an altar nor a church; whence also there can be no spiritual anointing among heretics, since it is manifested that the oil cannot be sanctified nor the Eucharist celebrated at all among them. . . . He who has been seduced into error and baptised (tinctus) outside, should lay aside even this very thing in the true ecclesiastical baptism, viz., that he, a man coming to God, while he seeks for a priest, fell by the deceit of error upon a profane one.

3. We also ought to gather and consider whether they who are the Lord's adversaries, and are called antichrists, can give the grace of Christ.

lxxi. (Ox. ed. lxxii.). *To Stephen.* 3. We neither do violence to nor impose a law upon any one, since each prelate has in the administration of the Church the exercise of his will free, as he shall give an account of his conduct to the Lord.

lxxii. (Ox. ed. lxxiii.). *To Jubianus.* 8. None can usurp to himself, in opposition to the bishops and priests, anything which is not of his own right and power. [Supported by reference to Corah, Dathan, and Abiram, and to the sons of Aaron.]

lxxiv. (Ox. ed. lxxv.). *From Firmilian to Cyprian.* 7. Moreover, all other heretics, if they have separated themselves from the Church of God, can have nothing of power or of grace, since all power and grace are established in the Church, where the elders preside, who possess the power both of baptising, and of imposition of hands, and of ordaining.

15. Thereupon the power of remitting sins was given to the Apostles, and to the churches which they, sent by Christ, established, and to the bishop who succeeded to them by vicarious ordination.

xvi. *All the confessors to Father Cyprian* (*Cypriano Papæ*).—*The term Pope or Papa applied to the Bishop of Carthage before it had been applied to the Bishop of Rome.*

Testimonies against the Jews.

Bk. I. 15. That Christ should be the House and Temple of God, and that the old temple should cease, and no new one begin.

16. That the ancient sacrifices should be made void, and a new one should be celebrated.

17. That the old priesthood should cease, and a Priest should come, Who should be for ever.

The Seventh Council of Carthage.

Clarus of Mascula said: The sentence of our Lord Jesus Christ is plain, when He sent His Apostles and accorded to them alone the power given Him by His Father; and to them we have succeeded, governing the Lord's Church with the same power, and baptising the faith of believers. And therefore heretics, who neither have power without, nor have the Church of Christ, are able to baptise no one with His baptism. (Endorsed by Cyprian.)

On the Unity of the Church.

4. The Lord speaks of Peter, saying (Matt. xvi. 18, 19). And again to the same He says, after His Resurrection, "Feed My sheep." And though to all the Apostles, after His Resurrection, He gives an equal power, and says (John xx. 21–23), yet, that He might set forth unity, He arranged by His authority

the origin of that unity, as beginning from one. Assuredly the rest of the Apostles were also the same as was Peter, endowed with a like partnership of honour and power, but the beginning proceeds from unity; which one Church, also, the Holy Spirit in the Song of Songs designated in the person of our Lord, and says (Cant. vi. 9). Does he who does not hold this unity think that he holds the faith? Does he who strives against and resists the Church trust that he is in the Church, when, moreover, the blessed Apostle Paul teaches the same thing and sets forth the sacrament of unity, saying (Eph. iv. 4)?

5. And this unity we ought firmly to hold and assert, especially those of us that are bishops who preside in the Church, that we may also prove the episcopate itself to be one and undivided. . . . The episcopate is one, each part of which is held by each one for the whole. The Church also is one, which is spread abroad far and wide into a multitude by an increase of fruitfulness. As there are many rays of the sun, but one light; and many branches of a tree, but one strength based in its tenacious roots; and since from one spring flow many streams, although the multiplicity seems diffused in the liberality of an overflowing abundance, yet the unity is still preserved in the source.

6. He can no longer have God for his Father who has not the Church for his Mother. If any one could escape who was outside the ark of Noah, then he

also may escape who shall be outside the Church. . . . He who does not hold this unity does not hold God's law, does not hold the faith of the Father and the Son, does not hold life and salvation.

12. How can two or three be assembled together in Christ's name, who it is evident are separated from Christ and His gospel? . . . When, therefore, in His commandments He lays it down and says, "When two or three are gathered together in My name, I am with them," He does not divide men from the Church, seeing that He Himself ordained and made the Church.

14. He cannot be a martyr who is not in the Church. . . . He cannot show himself a martyr who has not maintained brotherly love.

17. Does he think that he has Christ who acts in opposition to Christ's priests, who separates himself from the company of His clergy and people? He bears arms against the Church, he contends against God's appointment.

23. God is one, and Christ is one, and His Church is one, and the faith is one, and the people is joined with a substantial unity of body by the cement of concord.

On the Lord's Prayer.

4. And when we meet together with the brethen in one place and celebrate Divine sacrifices with God's priest, we ought to be mindful of modesty and discipline.

18. We ask that this bread should be given to us daily, that we who are in Christ and daily receive the Eucharist for the food of salvation may not, by the interposition of some heinous sin, by being prevented, as withheld and not communicating, from partaking of the heavenly bread, be separated from Christ's body as He Himself predicts and warns (S. John vi. 58).

Notes.

1. Bishops are divinely appointed successors of the Apostles and judges in the stead of Christ. The Church is under their control; to hold communion with them is to hold communion with the Catholic Church, to be separated from them is to be separated from the Church. Opposition to the bishops is the source of all heresies and schisms.

2. The episcopate is one, yet universal, being diffused through many bishops who are yet independent of one another in their judgments but responsible to the Lord. The commission is one, the commissioned are equal.

3. Presbyters cannot act independently of the bishops, but when delegated by them may act in their absence. [There seems to have been a class of teacher-presbyters.]

4. Presbyters presided at the Eucharist, which is a commemorative sacrifice and to be observed in strict obedience to the Lord's commands, neither

with water alone, nor wine alone, but with water and wine.

5. Deacons are made by the Apostles and by the bishops their successors.

6. There is no Church apart from the bishops, on whom the Church is founded; no baptism, Eucharist, grace, or Christianity outside the Church. The Church is one, indivisible and exclusive, cemented together by the episcopate.

7. Jesus Christ is the Chief Priest, Who has superseded the old temple, priesthood, and sacrifices, constituting in Himself a new temple, new priesthood, and new sacrifices. The bishop is the priest, the presbyters are the tribe of Levi.

Confirmation.—The Divine constitution of the Three Orders and Apostolic Succession. One episcopate, many bishops independent of one another, responsible to the Lord.

The character of Official Ministry as priestly, presidential, and administrative of Holy Scripture.

The spiritual and sacramental character of Baptism.

The spiritual, sacramental, commemorative, and life-sustaining character of the Eucharist.

Development.—The bishop essential to the existence of a true Church. Increasing subordination of presbyter and deacon to the bishop.

Variation.—The Eucharist is spoken of as a sacrifice, and is offered for the faithful dead. Priesthood is attributed solely to the office of a bishop. This is in harmony with the fact that in "The Life of, and Passion of Cyprian," by Pontius, the presbyterate and the priesthood are distinguished one from the other thus: "He (Cyprian) immediately received the presbyterate and the priesthood. For who is there that would not entrust every grade of honour to one who believed with such a disposition?" (Sect. 3.)

25. *S. Phileas.*

EGYPT, A.D. 306.

S. Phileas was Bishop of Thmuis, and was martyred A.D. 306.

Epistle to Meletius, Bishop of Lycopolis.

Hesychius, Pachomius, Theodorus, and Phileas, to Meletius, our friend and fellow minister in the Lord, greeting.

Some reports having reached us concerning thee, which, on the testimony of certain individuals who came to us, spake of certain things foreign to divine order and ecclesiastical rule which are being attempted, yea, rather, which are being done by thee, we, in an ingenuous manner, held them to be unreliable, regarding them to be such as we would not willingly credit,

when we thought of the audacity implied in their magnitude, and their uncertain attempts. But since many who are visiting us at the present time have lent some credibility to these reports, and have not hesitated to attest them as facts, we, to our exceeding surprise, have been compelled to indite this letter to thee. And what agitation and sadness have been caused to us all in common, and to each of us individually, by the ordination carried through by thee in parishes having no manner of connection with thee, we are unable sufficiently to express. We have not delayed, however, by a short statement to prove your practice wrong. There is the law of our fathers and forefathers, of which neither art thou thyself ignorant, established according to Divine and ecclesiastical order; for it is all for the good pleasure of God and the zealous regard of better things. By them it has been established and settled that it is not lawful for any bishop to celebrate ordinations in other parishes than his own; a law which is exceedingly important and wisely devised. For, in the first place, it is but right that the conversation and life of those who are ordained should be examined with great care; and, in the second place, that all confusion and turbulence should be done away with. For every one shall have enough to do in managing his own parish, and in finding with great care and many anxieties suitable subordinates with whom he has passed his whole life, and who have been trained

under his hands. . . . We learn, too, that there were also divisions because thy unwarrantable exercise of the right of ordination displeased many. . . . We make this declaration to thee, that in future thou mayest study to keep within the safe and salutary limits of the law.

Note.

This letter refers to the incident described below, under Peter, Archbishop of Alexandria, which see.

Variation.—Condemnation of extra-diocesan Ordination.

26. *Peter, Archbishop of Alexandria.*

ALEXANDRIA, A.D. 300–311.

Peter became Archbishop of Alexandria in succession to Theonas, A.D. 300. He was martyred A.D. 311.

Letter to the Church at Alexandria.

Since I have found out that Meletius [Bishop of Lycopolis] acts in no way for the common good (for neither is he contented with the letter of the most holy bishops and martyrs), but, invading my parish (*i.e.* diocese), hath assumed so much to himself as to endeavour to separate from my authority the priests, and those who had been entrusted with visiting the needy; and, giving proof of his desire for pre-eminence, has ordained in the prison several unto himself. Now,

take ye heed of this, and hold no communion with him, until I meet him in company with some wise and discreet men, and see what the designs are which he has thought upon.

Note.

Meletius had taken advantage of Peter's flight from persecution to intrude into other dioceses, ordain priests, and assume the character of Primate of Egypt. Phileas, Bishop of Thmuis, with three other bishops, had been imprisoned at Alexandria, and had provided for their flocks by the appointment of "visitors" or vicars-general (presbyters), commissioned by Peter; Meletius excommunicated these and ordained two in their place, without reference to Peter or the imprisoned bishops. He was afterwards deposed by a synod of Egyptian bishops assembled under Peter.

The letter is significant as to the solid position which the diocesan system had acquired in Egypt.

Variation.—Condemnation of extra-diocesan Ordination and action.

27. *Lactantius.*

NICOMEDIA AND GAUL, A.D. 313–325.

Lactantius came to Gaul about A.D. 313, as preceptor to Constantine's eldest son, Crispas, where probably he died A.D. 325.

Of the Manner in which the Persecutors died.

2. After He had risen again on the third day, He gathered together His Apostles, whom fear, at the time of His being laid hold on, had put to flight; and while He sojourned with them forty days, He opened their hearts, interpreted to them the Scripture, which hitherto had been wrapped in obscurity, ordained and fitted them for the preaching of His Word and Doctrine, and regulated all things concerning the institutions of the New Testament; and this having been accomplished, a cloud and whirlwind enveloped Him, and caught Him up from the sight of men unto heaven. His Apostles . . . were dispersed throughout all the earth to preach the gospel, as the Lord their Master had commanded them; and during twenty-five years, and until the beginning of the reign of the Emperor Nero, they occupied themselves in laying the foundations of the Church in every province and city.

Confirmation.—Divine and Apostolic constitution of the Church, with its institutions.

28. *Constitutions of the Holy Apostles.*

FOURTH CENTURY COMPILATION. THE EAST.

These Constitutions are a compilation of materials derived from sources of various dates. The first six books are probably the earliest, the seventh in its

present form somewhat later, but containing matter of very ancient date, as witnessed by its connection with The Didaché; the eighth is the latest in compilation, but also contains materials of very early date. The Constitutions *profess* to be the words of the Apostles, but there is no evidence that the compilation ever possessed any distinct ecclesiastical authority.

"They are a manual of ecclesiastical life, a body of law and ethics, and in some degree of doctrine applied, enforced and illustrated by instruction, exhortation and example, purporting to come from the mouths of the Apostles, speaking now collectively and now individually, and to be given to the world through S. Clement. The compiler (the pseudo Ignatius) was a divine of unorthodox, but otherwise not clearly determinable, theological affinities, who wrote at Antioch or in its neighbourhood, in the latter half of the fourth century. Whatever sources he has used, it is plain that he has dealt very freely with them, and that in particular the prayers are substantially his own work" (Brightman).

Bk. I. i. The Apostles and Elders, to all those who from among the Gentiles have believed in the Lord Jesus Christ; grace and peace from Almighty God, through our Lord Jesus Christ, be multiplied unto you in the acknowledgment of Him.

Bk. II. i.–iv. [A bishop is to be of a meek and merciful disposition, unblameable character, and of competent age; skilful in the word, faithful, impartial, and watchful in its administration; and a

kindly and discriminating dispenser of charitable gifts to the needy.]

xxv. The Tabernacle was in all things a type of the Church. . . . You, therefore, and bishops, are to your people priests and Levites, ministering to the holy tabernacle, the Holy Catholic Church; who stand at the altar of the Lord your God and offer to Him reasonable and unbloody sacrifices through Jesus the Great High Priest. You are to the laity prophets, rulers, governors, and kings, the mediators between God and His faithful people, who receive and declare His Word, well acquainted with the Scriptures. . . Those who attend upon the Church ought to be maintained by the Church, as being priests, Levites, presidents, and ministers of God, as it is written in the Book of Numbers (xviii. 1). Hear this, you of the laity also, the elect Church of God. For the people were formerly called "the people of God," and an holy nation. You, therefore, are the holy, sacred Church of God, enrolled in heaven, a royal priesthood, an holy nation, a peculiar people. . . . Hear attentively now what was said formerly; oblations and tithes belong to Christ our High Priest and to those who minister to Him. . . . These which were then the sacrifices now are prayers, and intercessions, and thanksgivings. These which were then first-fruits, and tithes, and offerings, and gifts, now are oblations which are presented by holy bishops to the Lord God, through Jesus Christ, Who has died for them.

For these are your high priests, as the presbyters are your priests, and your present deacons instead of your Levites; as are also your readers, your singers, . . . but He Who is above all these is your High Priest.

xxvi. The bishop, he is the minister of the Word, the keeper of knowledge, the mediator between God and you in the several parts of your Divine worship. . . . He is your ruler and governor. . . . Let the bishop preside over you as one honoured with the authority of God, which he is to exercise over the clergy, and by which he is to govern all the people. . . . Let the presbyters be esteemed by you to represent us the Apostles, and let them be the teachers of Divine knowledge.

xxvii. As, therefore, it was not lawful for one of another tribe, that was not a Levite, to offer anything, or to approach the altar without the priest, so also do you do nothing without the bishop, for if any one does anything without the bishop, he does it to no purpose.

xxviii. The presbyters . . . are the Sanhedrim and Senate of the Church.

xxx. The deacon is to you Aaron and the bishop Moses. If, therefore, Moses was called a god by the Lord, let the bishop be honoured among you as a god, and the deacon as his prophet.

xxxi. Let him (the deacon) not do anything at all without his bishop.

xxxiii. If the Divine oracle says (Exod. xx. 12), how

much more should the Word exhort you to honour your spiritual parents and to love them as your benefactors and ambassadors with God, who have regenerated you by water, and endued you with the fulness of the Holy Spirit; who have fed you with the Word as with milk, who have nourished you with doctrine, who have confirmed you with their admonitions, who have imparted to you the living body and precious blood of Christ, who have loosed you from your sins, who have made you partakers of the holy and sacred Eucharist, who have admitted you to be partakers and fellow-heirs of the promises of God.

xxxiv. You ought to love the bishop as your father, and fear him as your king, and honour him as your lord, bringing to him your fruits and the works of your hands, for a blessing upon you, giving to him your first-fruits, and your tithes, and your oblations, and your gifts, as to the priest of God.

xxxv. It is thy duty to give, and his to administer, as being the administrator and disposer of ecclesiastical affairs.

xliv. Let the deacon be the bishop's ear and eye and mouth and heart and soul, that the bishop may not be distracted with many cares, but with such only as are more considerable.

xlvii. Let also the deacons and presbyters be present at your judicatures, to judge without acceptance of persons, as men of God, with righteousness.

lvii. When thou callest an assembly of the Church,

as one that is the commander of a great ship, appoint the assemblies to be made with all possible skill, charging the deacons as mariners to prepare places for the brethren as passengers, with all due care and decency. . . . As to the deacons, after the prayer is over, let some of them attend upon the oblation of the Eucharist, ministering to the Lord's body with fear. . . . Let the deacon pray for the whole Church. . . . After this let the high priest pray for peace upon the people and bless them as Moses commanded the priest to bless the people (Num. vi. 24). After this let the sacrifice follow, the people standing and praying silently; and when the oblation has been made, let every rank by itself partake of the Lord's body and precious blood in order, and approach with reverence and holy fear, as to the body of their King.

Bk. III. i. 10. Neither do we permit the laity to perform any of the offices belonging to the priesthood; as, for instance, neither the sacrifice, nor baptism, nor the laying on of hands, nor the blessing, whether the smaller or the greater; for "no one taketh this honour to himself, but he that is called of God." For such sacred offices are conferred by the laying on of the hands of the bishop.

11. Nay, further, we do not permit the rest of the clergy to baptise, as, for instance, neither to readers, nor singers, nor porters, nor ministers, but to the bishops and presbyters alone, yet so that the deacons

are to minister to them therein (ref. to Num. xvi.). We do not permit presbyters to ordain deacons or deaconesses, or readers, or ministers, or singers, or porters, but only bishops, for this is the ecclesiastical order and harmony.

ii. 19. Let the deacons be in all things unspotted, as the bishop is himself to be, only more active; in number according to the largeness of the Church, that they may minister to the infirm as workmen that are not ashamed.

Bk. V. iii. 14. And when He had delivered to us the representative mysteries of His precious Body and Blood, Judas not being present with us, He went out to the Mount of Olives, near the brook Cedron, where there was a garden; and we were with Him and sang an hymn according to the custom.

Bk. VI. iii. 15. Those that receive polluted baptism from the ungodly will become partners in their opinions. For they are not priests. For God says to them, "Because thou hast rejected knowledge, I will also reject thee from the office of a priest to Me" (Hos. iv. 6).

23. He has in several ways changed baptism, sacrifice, the priesthood, and the Divine service which was confined to one place: for instead of daily baptisms, He has given only one, which is that into His death. Instead of one tribe, He has appointed that out of every nation the best should be ordained for the priesthood; and that not their bodies should

be examined for blemishes, but their religion and their lives. Instead of a bloody sacrifice, He has appointed that reasonable and unbloody mystical one of His Body and Blood which is performed to represent the death of the Lord by symbols. Instead of the Divine service confined to one place, He has commanded and appointed that He should be glorified from sun-rising to sun-setting in every place of His dominion.

vi. 30. Offer the acceptable Eucharist, the representation of the royal Body of Christ.

Bk. VII. i. 9. Thou shalt honour him that speaks to thee the word of God and be mindful of him day and night, and thou shalt reverence him, not as the author of thy birth, but as one that is made the occasion of thy well-being. For where the doctrine concerning God is, there God is present.

ii. 25. Concerning the Eucharistical thanksgiving say thus: "We thank Thee, our Father, for that life which Thou hast made known to us by Jesus, Thy Son. . . . Do Thou, O Lord Almighty, gather together Thy Church from the ends of the earth, as this corn was once scattered, and is now become one loaf. We also, our Father, thank Thee for the precious Blood of Jesus Christ, which was shed for us, and for His precious Body, whereof we celebrate this representation, as Himself appointed us, 'to show forth His death.'"

31. Do you first ordain bishops worthy of the Lord,

and presbyters and deacons, pious men, righteous, meek, free from the love of money, lovers of truth, approved, holy, not accepters of persons, who are able to teach the word of piety, and rightly dividing the doctrines of the Lord.

iii. 37. Do Thou now, O Lord, accept the prayers which proceed from the lips of Thy people which are of the Gentiles, which call upon Thee in truth, as Thou didst accept of the gifts of the righteous in their generations. [Then follows an enumeration of "the sacrifice of Abel," "the sacrifice of Noah," etc., etc.] Now also do Thou receive the prayers of Thy people which are offered to Thee with knowledge, through Christ in the Spirit.

Bk. VIII. i. 1. Let not a bishop be exalted against his deacons and presbyters, nor the presbyters against the people; for the subsistence of the congregation depends on each other. For the bishops and the presbyters are the priests with relation to the people, and the laity are the laity with relation to the clergy. And to be a Christian is in our own power, but to be an Apostle, or a bishop, or in any other such office, is not in our own power, but at the disposal of God, Who bestows the gifts.

2. We add, in the next place, that neither is every one that prophesies holy, nor every one that casts out devils religious . . . nor is a bishop oppressed with ignorance or an evil disposition a bishop, but falsely so-called, being not one sent out by God, but by men.

ii. 3. Now our discourse hastens to the principal part, that is, the Constitution of ecclesiastical affairs, that so, when ye have learned this Constitution from us, ye, who are ordained bishops by us at the command of Christ, may perform all things according to the commands delivered you, knowing that he that heareth us heareth Christ, and he that heareth Christ heareth His God and Father, to Whom be glory for ever.

(*The Clementine Liturgy, which here follows,* Bk. VIII. 4–15, *is examined under the head of* "*Liturgies,*" p. 198.)

xlvi. Now, this we all in common do charge you, that every one remain in that rank which is appointed him, and do not transgress his proper bounds; for they are not ours, but God's. . . . But because many think this a small matter, and venture to confound the Orders, and to remove the ordination which belongs to them severally, snatching to themselves dignities which were never given to them, and allowing themselves to bestow that authority in a tyrannical manner which they have not themselves, and thereby provoke God to anger [ref. to Corah and Uzziah] and provoke Christ Jesus to anger, Who made this Constitution; and also grieve the Holy Spirit and make void His testimony: therefore, knowing the danger that hangs over those who do such things, and the neglect about the sacrifices and Eucharistical

offices which will arise from their being impiously offered by those who ought not to offer them; who think the honour of the highpriesthood which is an imitation of the Great High Priest, Jesus Christ our King, to be a matter of sport; we have found it necessary to give you warning in this matter also. . . . Being taught by the Lord the series of things, we distributed the functions of the highpriesthood to the bishops, those of the priesthood to the presbyters and the ministration under them both to the deacons, that the Divine worship might be performed in purity. For it is not lawful for a deacon to offer the sacrifice, or to baptise, or to give either the greater or the lesser blessing. Nor may a presbyter perform ordination; for it is not agreeable to holiness to have this Order perverted. For "God is not the God of confusion," that the subordinate persons should tyrannically assume to themselves the functions belonging to their superiors. . . . Such as these do not fight against us or against the bishops, but against the Universal Bishop and the High Priest of the Father, Jesus Christ our Lord. High priests, priests, and Levites were ordained by Moses. . . . By our Saviour were the Apostles, thirteen in number, ordained; and by the Apostles I, James, and I, Clement, and others with us were ordained. . . . And, in common, presbyters, and deacons, and sub-deacons, and readers, were ordained by all of us. The Great High Priest, therefore, Who is so by nature, is Christ,

the Only-begotten . . . Who, being made man for our sake, and offering the spiritual sacrifice to His God and Father, before His suffering gave it us alone in charge to do this, although there were others with us who believed in Him. But he that believes is not presently appointed a priest, or obtains the dignity of the highpriesthood. But after His ascension we offered, according to His Constitution, the pure and unbloody sacrifice; and ordained bishops, and presbyters, and deacons, seven in number.

See also xli., viz.: Let us pray for our brethren that are at rest in Christ. . . . Do Thou now also look upon this Thy servant whom Thou hast selected and received into another state, and forgive him if voluntarily or involuntarily he has sinned. . . .

xliii. These things we say concerning the pious; for as to the ungodly, if thou givest all the world to the poor, thou wilt not benefit him at all. For to whom the Deity was an enemy while he was alive, it is certain it will be so also when he is departed; for there is no unrighteousness with Him. For "the Lord is righteous and has loved righteousness" (Ps. xi. 7). And "Behold the man and his work" (Isa. lxii. 11).

Notes.

1. The Tabernacle is typical of the Holy Catholic Church; bishops, presbyters, and deacons therefore hold the same relationship to the Church that high priests, priests, and Levites held to the Tabernacle, and are to be supported by the Church accordingly.

2. The sacrifices of the Church are the Eucharist, the sacrifices of prayers, intercessions, thanksgivings, and gifts for the sustenance of Church officers and the poor, offered through Jesus Christ, the Great High Priest by nature, Who has offered the sacrifice of Himself in His death, which is symbolically represented by the reasonable and unbloody mystical sacrifice of His Body and Blood.

3. The whole Christian people are a royal priesthood; but Office, as being not self-originative, but disposed by God, distinguishes those who are ordained to it from those who are not, so that the former are priests with regard to the laity, and the latter are laity with regard to the officers of the Church. The reality of Office depends on the consistent conduct of those who hold it.

4. The document commences with an Apostolic Blessing.

Confirmation.—The three Orders and Apostolical Succession of Episcopal Ordination.

The character of Official Ministry as priestly,

presidential, and administrative of Holy Scripture.

The character of Baptism as spiritual and sacramental.

The character of the Eucharist as spiritual, sacramental, commemorative, symbolically representative, life-sustaining, and securing the forgiveness of sins.

Development.—The bishop represents Christ, without Whom, therefore, nothing is to be done.

Variation.—The administration of Baptism is restricted to bishops and presbyters.

The Eucharist is a sacrifice.

The priesthood of the laity is latent in the relationships of clergy and people.

CHAPTER III.

EARLY LITURGIES.

THE term Liturgies has become specifically applied to services for the administration of the Lord's Supper. Several Liturgies have come down to us from very early times, and have given rise to keen discussion as to their age, authorship, and genuineness. It is claimed for them that they enshrine the substance of an Apostolic tradition for the observance of the sacred rite, with more or less interpolation. The only Liturgies which concern the period of the present inquiry are: (1) The Clementine Liturgy embedded in the eighth book of the Apostolical Constitutions, which seems never to have been used in any public service; (2) The Sacramentary of Sarapion; (3) The Liturgy of S. James; (4) The Liturgy of S. Mark; (5) The Liturgy of SS. Adæus and Marius.

THE SACRAMENTARY OF SARAPION OF THMUIS.

EGYPT, A.D. 350.

This collection of liturgical prayers is contained in an eleventh-century MS. belonging to the library of the Laura on Mount Athos, first published in 1899.

The prayers seem to be of a date not later than the reign of Constantius, or A.D. 350, and are the earliest liturgical collection on so large and comprehensive a scale, covering as they do something like the ground of the seventh and eighth books of the Apostolic Constitutions of a quarter of a century later. They are Egyptian, and as such fill a gap. It is a liturgical document of first-rate importance. There seems to be no sufficient reason to doubt that it is in whole or in part compiled or composed by Sarapion, who, after being head of a community of monks, became Bishop of Thmuis, the friend and contemporary of S. Anthony and S. Athanasius. It is therefore superior as an historical document to those three books, with which it is natural to compare it—"The Teaching of the Apostles," "The Canons of Hippolytus," and "The Clementine Liturgy." The contents of the collection include The Liturgy; The Order of Baptism; Confirmation; Ordinations; Unction of the Sick, and the Burial of the Dead (Brightman and Bishop Wordsworth).

1. Lord of Hosts, fill also this sacrifice with Thy power and Thy participation: for to Thee have we offered this living sacrifice, this bloodless oblation. To Thee we have offered this bread, the likeness (ὁμοίωμα) of the body of the Only-begotten. This bread is the likeness of the holy body, because the Lord Jesus Christ in the night in which He was betrayed took bread and broke and gave to His

disciples, saying, "Take ye and eat; this is My body, which is being broken for you for remission of sins." Wherefore we also, making the likeness of the death, have offered the bread, and beseech Thee, through this sacrifice be reconciled to all of us, and be merciful, O God of truth. . . . We have offered also the cup, the likeness of the blood, because the Lord Jesus Christ, taking a cup after supper, said to His own disciples, "Take ye; drink; this is the New Covenant, which (ὅ) is My blood, which is being shed for you for remission of sins." Wherefore we have also offered the cup, presenting a likeness of the blood.

O God of truth, let Thy holy Word come upon this bread, that the bread may become body of the Word, and upon this cup, that the cup may become blood of the Truth; and make all who communicate to receive a medicine of life for the healing of every sickness and for the strengthening of all advancement and virtue, not for condemnation, O God of truth, and not for censure and reproach. For we have invoked Thee, the uncreated, through the Only-begotten in Holy Spirit.

We intercede also on behalf of all those who have been laid to rest, whose memorial we are making. [After the recitation of the names]:—Sanctify these souls: for Thou knowest all. Sanctify (all souls) laid to rest in the Lord. And number them with all Thy holy powers, and give to them a place and a mansion in Thy kingdom.

2. And make us wise, O God of compassions, by the participation of the body and the blood.

4. We give thanks to Thee that Thou hast given us communion of (the) body and blood. Bless us; bless this people; make us to have a part with the body and the blood, through Thy Only-begotten Son.

6. O loving God of truth, let the communion of the body and the blood go along with this people.

7. King and Lord of all things . . . see now from heaven and look upon these waters and fill them with Holy Spirit. Let Thine ineffable Word come to be in them, and transform their energy and cause them to be generative, being filled with Thy grace, in order that the mystery which is now being celebrated may not be found in vain in those that are being regenerated, but may fill all those that descend and are baptised with the divine grace. . . . And as Thy Only-begotten Word coming down upon the waters of the Jordan rendered (ἀπέδειξεν) them holy, so now also may He descend on these and make them holy and spiritual, to the end that those who are being baptised may be no longer flesh and blood, but spiritual and able to worship Thee.

8. For to Thee, O loving (God) is he (this Thy servant) now offered; to Thee we devote him: grant him to communicate in this divine regeneration.

12. Father of the Only-begotten, Who didst send Thy Son, and didst ordain the things on the earth, and hast given rules to the Church and Orders (τάξεις)

for the profit and salvation of the flocks, Who didst choose out bishops, presbyters, and deacons for the ministry of Thy Catholic Church.

13. We stretch forth the hand, O Lord God of the heavens, Father of Thy Only-begotten, upon this man (being ordained presbyter), and beseech Thee that the Spirit of truth may dwell (or settle) upon him.

14. Thou Who didst send the Lord Jesus for the gain of all the world, Thou Who didst through Him choose the Apostles, Thou Who generation by generation dost ordain holy bishops, O God of truth, make this bishop also a living bishop, holy (or worthy) of the succession of the holy Apostles, and give to him grace and Divine Spirit.

18. God, Who hast authority of life and death . . . we beseech Thee for the repose (κοιμήσεως) and rest of this Thy servant or this Thine handmaiden . . . and raise up his body in the day which Thou hast ordained, according to Thy promises which cannot lie, that Thou mayst render to it also the heritage of which it is worthy in Thy holy pastures. Remember not his transgressions and sins: and cause his going forth (ἔξοδον) to be peaceable and blessed.

25. Lead him (the bishop) rightly in Thy rules of discipline (ἐπιστήμαις). We beseech Thee also for the fellow-presbyters; sanctify them, give them wisdom and knowledge and right doctrine: cause them to be ambassadors of Thy holy doctrine rightly and unblameably.

28. We stretch out the hand, O Master, and pray that the Divine and living hand may be stretched out in blessing on this people. For to Thee, uncreated Father, through the Only-begotten, they have bowed their heads. (See also 29 and 30.)

Confirmation.—The three Orders and Apostolical Succession of Episcopal Ordination.

The character of Official Ministry as presidential, and administrative of Holy Scripture.

Baptism as spiritual, sacramental, and dedicatory.

The Eucharist as spiritual, sacramental, commemorative, representative, and to the strengthening of virtue. The bread is the likeness of the body and death of the Lord, and the cup is the likeness of the blood of the Lord; partaking of which is participation of the body and blood of our Lord.

The stretching forth of hands is the symbol of prayer for the stretching forth of the Divine Hands in blessing.

Variation. — The Eucharist is a sacrifice and medicinal.

"The bread and wine are offered as types of Christ's offering; not simply as first-fruits of the creatures. There is no further offering of them after consecration, but a thankful and reverent use in communion." (Bishop Wordsworth.)

The Clementine Liturgy.

From the Apostolic Constitutions. Book viii. 4–15.

Fourth Century Compilation. The East.

4. Wherefore we, the twelve Apostles of the Lord who are now together, give you in charge these Divine Constitutions, concerning every ecclesiastical form, there being present with us Paul, the chosen vessel, our fellow Apostle, and James the bishop, and the rest of the presbyters, and the seven deacons.

After enacting that the whole people should choose the bishop who is to be ordained, there follows a form of prayer for the ordination of a bishop, in which the following petitions occur:—

Grant by Thy name, O God, Who searchest the hearts, that this Thy servant, whom Thou hast chosen to be a bishop, may feed Thy holy flock, and discharge the office of an high priest to Thee, and minister to Thee unblameably night and day; that he may appease Thee, and gather together the number of those that shall be saved, and may offer to Thee the gifts of Thy Holy Church. Grant to him, O Lord Almighty, through Thy Christ, the fellowship of the Holy Spirit, that so he may have power to remit sins according to Thy command, to give forth lots according to Thy command, to loose every bond according to the power which Thou gavest to the

Apostles ; . . . to offer to Thee a pure and unbloody sacrifice, which by Thy Christ Thou hast appointed as the mystery of the new covenant, for a sweet savour, through Thy holy Child, Jesus Christ, our God and Saviour.

12. *At the offering of the bread and the cup, the high priest* (i.e. *the bishop*) *is to pray thus :—*

Send down upon this sacrifice Thine Holy Spirit, the Witness of the Lord Jesus' sufferings, that He may show this bread to be the body of Thy Christ, and the cup to be the blood of Thy Christ, that those who are partakers thereof may be strengthened for piety, may obtain the remission of their sins, etc. We further offer to Thee also for all these holy persons who have pleased Thee from the beginning of the world, patriarchs, prophets, righteous men, Apostles, martyrs, etc. We further offer to Thee for this people, that Thou wilt render them, to the praise of Thy Church, "a royal priesthood and a holy nation."

15. These Constitutions concerning this mystical worship we, the Apostles, do ordain for you the bishops, presbyters, and deacons.

Confirmation.—See under Apostolic Constitutions.

Variation.—The Eucharist is a sacrifice, and is offered for the godly and Christian dead.

The Divine Liturgy of James, the Holy Apostle and Brother of our Lord.

Fourth Century Compilation. The East.

I. 1. I . . . am unworthy to come into the presence of this Thy holy and spiritual table, upon which Thy Only-begotten Son, and our Lord Jesus Christ, is mystically set forth as a sacrifice for me, a sinner and stained with every spot.

5. Our Lord and God, Jesus Christ . . . Who didst provide this mysterious and awful service as an everlasting memorial for us perpetually: bless Thy ministry in Christ the God, and bless our entrance, and fully complete the presentation of this our service by Thy unutterable compassion now and ever, to all eternity. Amen.

7. Send forth upon us, O God, Thy good grace, and sanctify our souls and bodies and spirits, and turn our thoughts to piety, in order that with a pure conscience we may bring unto Thee gifts, offerings, and fruits for the remission of our transgressions, and for the propitiation of all Thy people, by the grace and mercies and loving-kindness of Thy Only-begotten Son.

II. The King of kings, and Lord of lords, Christ our God, comes forward to be sacrificed and to be given for food to the faithful.

22. And for the offered, precious, heavenly, unutterable, pure, glorious, dread, awful, Divine gifts,

and the salvation of the priest who stands by and offers them; let us offer supplication to God the Lord.

24. O Sovereign Lord, Who . . . hast freely given to us, Thy humble and sinful and unworthy servants, boldness to stand at Thy holy altar, and to offer to Thee this dread and bloodless sacrifice for our sins and for the errors of the people, look upon me, etc.

26. Grant to us, O Lord, with all fear and a pure conscience to offer to Thee this spiritual and bloodless sacrifice; and graciously receiving it unto Thy holy and spiritual altar above the skies, for an odour of a sweet spiritual smell; send down in answer on us the grace of Thy All-holy Spirit. And, O God, look on us and have regard to this our reasonable service, and accept it as Thou didst accept the gifts of Abel, the sacrifices of Noah, the priestly offices of Moses and Aaron, the peace-offerings of Samuel, the repentance of David, the incense of Zacharias. As Thou didst accept from the hand of Thy Apostles the true service, so accept also in Thy goodness from the hands of us sinners these offered gifts; and grant that our offering may be acceptable, sanctified by the Holy Spirit as a propitiation for our transgressions and the errors of the people, and for the rest of the souls that have fallen asleep aforetime.

27. And, uncovering the veils that darkly invest in symbol this sacred ceremonial, do Thou reveal it

clearly to us: fill our intellectual vision with absolute light.

30. In like manner after supper, He took the cup, and having mixed wine and water. . . .

32. This Thine All-holy Spirit send down, O Lord, upon us, and upon these offered holy gifts, that, coming by His holy and good and glorious appearing, He may sanctify this bread and make it the holy body of Thy Christ, and this cup the precious blood of Thy Christ:

33. That they may be to all who partake of them for remission of sins and for life everlasting, for the sanctification of souls and bodies, for bearing the fruit of good works.

41. [When the priest gives a single piece to each chalice, he says:—] A holy portion of Christ, full of grace and truth, of the Father and of the Holy Spirit to Whom be the glory and the power, to all eternity. . . . O taste and see that the Lord is good; who is parted and not divided; distributed to the faithful and not expended; for the remission of sins and the life everlasting.

Confirmation.—The character of the Eucharist as spiritual, mystical, sacramental, commemorative, and life-sustaining.

The mixed chalice.

Variation.—The gifts and fruits in the Lord's Supper offered as a propitiation for the dead.

The Eucharist is a sacrifice, in which Christ is said to come forward to be sacrificed.

Prayer that the bread and wine may be *made* the body and blood of the Lord.

The Divine Liturgy of the Holy Apostle and Evangelist Mark, the Disciple of the Holy Peter.

Fourth Century Compilation. The East.

xvii. Send down upon us also, and upon this bread and upon these chalices, Thy Holy Spirit, that by His all-powerful and Divine influence He may sanctify and consecrate them, and make this bread the body, and this cup the blood of the New Testament of the very Lord, and God, and Saviour, and universal King, Christ Jesus.

Variation.—Prayer that the bread and the wine may be *made* the body and blood of Christ.

In other respects *Confirmation* of the Eucharist as spiritual, sacramental, commemorative, and life-sustaining, and of the mixed chalice.

The Liturgy of the Blessed Apostles SS. Adæus and Marius, Teachers of the Easterns.

Fourth Century Compilation. The East.

viii. O Mother of our Lord Jesus Christ, beseech for me the Only-begotten Son, Who was born of thee,

to forgive me my offences and my sins, and to accept from my feeble and sinful hands this sacrifice which my weakness offers upon this altar, through Thy intercession for me, O holy Mother.

xii. O Lord God Almighty, accept this oblation for the Holy Catholic Church, and for all the pious and righteous fathers who have been pleasing to Thee, and for all the prophets and Apostles, and for all the martyrs and confessors, and for all that mourn . . . and for all the dead that have gone from among us.

xiii. Do Thou, O Lord, through Thy many and ineffable mercies, make the memorial good and acceptable of all the pious and righteous fathers who have been pleading before Thee in the commemoration of the body and blood of Thy Christ, which we offer unto Thee upon Thy pure and holy altar, as Thou hast taught us.

xiv. Spare the offences and sins of the dead through Thy grace and mercies for ever.

Variation.—Prayer to the Mother of our Lord for her intercession with the Only-begotten Son.

The Eucharistic oblation is a sacrifice, and is offered for the godly and Christian dead.

In other respects *Confirmation* of the character of the Eucharist as spiritual, sacramental, commemorative, and life-sustaining.

CHAPTER IV.

THE ORIGIN AND GROWTH OF THE IDENTIFICATION OF BISHOPS, PRIESTS, AND DEACONS WITH THE HIGH PRIESTS, PRIESTS, AND LEVITES.

THERE is no indication of such identification in Holy Scripture.

S. CLEMENT OF ROME.

The offerings and ministrations of the Christian Church are to be performed with the care, at the times and seasons, at the place, and by the persons commanded by Christ, as the sacrifices of the Jewish Church were commanded to be offered by the high priest, priests, and Levites in the sanctuary at Jerusalem. This analogy is based on the orderly discharge of allotted service by appointed ministers. The deepened solemnity of the Christian revelation necessitated not less but greater regard to the Divine injunctions pertaining to order and office.

S. Clement uses other analogies—cosmical, physical, military—to impress the necessity of the same scrupulous care and order.

S. Ignatius.

The precinct of the altar is a term used to denote the place of Christian assembly. The idea is suggestive of an analogy between the Jewish ministers of the altar and the ministers of the Christian Church, but the analogy is not pursued in this direction.

The analogy in these letters carries us into the highest spiritual sphere pertaining to Christ and His Father, and the Apostles, bishops, presbyters, and deacons; while Judaism is referred to as in "monstrous" contradiction to Christianity.

The Didaché.

Itinerant prophets are to be supported by gifts of first-fruits, on the ground that they hold a position in the Christian Church analogous to that of the chief priests of the temple in the Jewish Church. This analogy is based on correspondence of official position and of pre-eminent service. These prophets spoke by inspiration the word of the Lord in harmony with the Apostolic tradition; and when the tradition became Scripture, their inspired ministry of the word was replaced by the administrative ministry of the written word, by local bishops and presbyters. To these latter the analogy of the Jewish priesthood was afterwards similarly applied.

S. Irenæus.

The analogy between the priests of the Jewish Church and the Apostles of the Christian Church is based on non-inheritance of lands and houses, a natural explanation of the right to be supported by the gifts of the people.

Reference to the analogy between the sacrifices of the Jewish Church and those of the Christian Church is expressly guarded against being thought to involve "falling in with Jewish views."

Origen.

The analogy between the priests and Levites of the Jewish Church and the ministers of the Christian Church is based on exclusive employment in the service of God; those who among the latter hold more distinguished office (such as bishops), may be admitted to be analogous to the Aaronic high priest. This analogy is expressly guarded by the statement that "allowance is to be made for difference of occupation."

S. Cyprian.

The analogy between such as Corah, Dathan, and Abiram, who opposed the priests of the Jewish Church, and those who opposed the ministers of the Christian Church, is based on opposition to Divine appointment.

The Constitutions of the Holy Apostles, including the Clementine Liturgy.

The East. Fourth Century Compilation.

The analogy between the ministers of the Jewish Church and the ministers of the Christian Church is based on occupation in Divine ministry, with the consequent right to be supported by the people; but the analogical argument is reversed: the three orders are to be supported because they thus represent the Levitical hierarchy, instead of being named after that hierarchy because they are supported by the Church. The kind of oblations offered by the latter are expressly distinguished from the kind of oblations offered by the former. The bishop is said to correspond to Moses, the presbyters to the Apostles, and the deacons to Aaron.

The analogy is one of order; baptism, sacrifice, priesthood, and Divine service are all expressly stated to have been changed; and, in harmony with this change, the functions of high priest, priest, and Levite, with their changed contents, are distributed as to order, to bishops, priests, and deacons under the new High Priest, Jesus Christ, Who is such by nature, not only by appointed order. The character of priesthood is attributed to the whole Christian people, the differences among whom are those of ecclesiastical order, which has its substratum in a

common priestly nature derived from Christ Himself; but one expression seems to imply that the priesthood of the laity becomes latent in the presence of the priesthood of the clergy (viii. 1).

Summary.

From this tracing out of the origin and growth of the identification of bishops, priests, and deacons of the Church of Christ with the high priest, priests, and Levites of the Jewish Church from *c.* A.D. 125 to A.D. 325 it is evident that the identification, which has no place in Holy Scripture, is analogical, and that it has to do with order, not with intrinsic character. The result is summed up by Origen's remark that the application of the terms high priest, priest, and Levite to bishop, priests, and deacons may be permitted, provided that *allowance be made for difference of occupation.*

Up to the time of Cyprian references to ministerial priesthood are either analogical with the position of the Jewish priesthood, or are based on the Christian priesthood of the whole Christian people; but Cyprian attributes priesthood specially to the episcopal office, avoiding the term priest in speaking of the second order of ministry, substituting for it the term presbyter, and makes no reference to the priesthood of the Christian people. Pontius, in his life of S. Cyprian, similarly distinguishes between his presbyterate and

his priesthood. The New Testament, on the other hand, distinctly declares the priesthood of the people, and does not expressly assert, though it is necessarily implied, the priesthood of the ministry. The Apostolic Constitutions recognise the priesthood of the people, as well as of the ministry, but in the relationship of clergy and people the priesthood of the latter becomes latent.

In our own day, after a period in which ministerial priesthood has been emphasised to the overlooking of lay priesthood, the latter is again being insisted upon, and so a return made to the primitive doctrine of Scripture. In the New Testament ministers are priests because they are members of the royal priesthood of the whole Christian people; later doctrine has too often been that ministers are priests because they are distinct in character from the laity, whereas the distinction is that of office.

CHAPTER V.

THE SACRIFICIAL CHARACTER OF THE EUCHARIST.

IN the New Testament Scriptures the Lord's Supper is not spoken of as a sacrifice. In the ante-Nicene writings the Eucharist, which term gradually displaced the earlier designation, the Lord's Supper is so spoken of from the time of the Didaché to that of the Apostolic Constitutions, as evidenced in the foregoing quotations. In the earlier of these instances it is spoken of as a sacrifice, without reference to any propitiatory character; then as a sacrifice representative and commemorative of *The* Sacrifice; while in the latest utterances it is spoken of as being in itself propitiatory, and finally Christ Himself is said to come forward to be sacrificed.

In the earliest instance (the Didaché) it is called "our Sacrifice," an expression which may be well understood as representing the idea that, as in the sacrifice of the Tabernacle and the Temple, there was a looking forward to the Sacrifice of Christ, so in the Eucharist there is a looking back to that Sacrifice of Christ which fulfilled the ancient type; the Jewish sacrifice was "*their* sacrifice," the Eucharist is "*our*

sacrifice," as representing and commemorating the Christian fulfilment of ancient foreshadowings; and this is, without doubt, at least part of the sense in which such writers as S. Irenæus, S. Hippolytus, and S. Cyprian use the word sacrifice. A similar partial sense is also found in the Apostolic Constitutions. This use of the word sacrifice may thus be understood without contradiction to New Testament teaching, though it is at least an amplification of thought not found in those pages. So much cannot, however, be said of such an expression as, in the Liturgy of S. James, that Christ comes forward to be "sacrificed," which is a contradiction in terms of the New Testament statement that His body was offered once for all—ἐφάπαξ (upon one occasion only, or at one time).

The question thus presents itself, Is the Eucharist a sacrifice, and, if so, in what sense? The answer depends upon a consideration of the several aspects in which the Eucharist may be regarded.

1. *With regard to the elements of bread and wine.*

In the ante-Nicene writings the bread and wine are sometimes spoken of as the first-fruits of the earth, presented at the Eucharist to be consecrated for the especial purpose of that holy rite, and in grateful acknowledgment of the One Author, Creator and Giver of bodily and spiritual sustenance. In this sense the word sacrifice is suitable and important.

2. *With regard to the alms presented at the Eucharist.*

These should be sacrifices, costly to the giver, and of real help, Christianly given and received by the Lord's poor and suffering ones. In this sense, the word sacrifice is suitable and important, "for with such sacrifices God is well pleased."

3. *With regard to the spiritual acts associated with the Eucharist.*

In these writings prayer and praise are spoken of in harmony with New Testament teaching, as sacrifices; and prayer and praise find their holiest employment and highest expression in the Eucharist. Here again the use of the word sacrifice is suitable and important.

4. *With regard to self-consecration.*

In the New Testament we are taught to present our bodies a living sacrifice as our reasonable service. In the ante-Nicene writings "a reasonable service" is associated with the celebration of the Eucharist, and a connection with the presentation of the living sacrifice of our bodies is naturally suggested. Here again the use of the word sacrifice is suitable and important.

5. *With regard to the Memorial character of the Eucharist.*

The Eucharist is a Memorial before God of the Sacrifice of the Cross and a pleading of that One

Sacrifice. An earnest pleading in the Eucharist, of that Sacrifice may so unite, in the mind of the worshipper, the Sacrifice and its Memorial, that the latter becomes unconsciously identified with the former, and the Eucharist is thought of as the Sacrifice, and is so spoken of. This seems to have been the case with some of the ante-Nicene writers. The devout origin, if that be so, of this mental transference represented by a similar transference in language, must not blind us to the confusion of thought and language which calls the Memorial of the Sacrifice, the Sacrifice itself. Such transference finds no place in Holy Scripture, and in this sense the word sacrifice is misleading.

For the meaning of "This is My body," see my previous volume.

6. *With regard to self-identification by the partaker with the Sacrifice of Christ.*

It is quite true that the purpose and effect of the observance of this holy rite is that our life should be a sacrificial life by participation in, or drinking in of, the life-blood of our blessed Lord, but to speak as if the act of partaking were the sacrifice, is to confuse cause and effect. We partake of the Eucharist in order that by acts of faith in Him Whose Memorial it is, we may receive the inward spirit of sacrifice. We partake by faith of the Sacrifice *for us* in order that the spirit of sacrifice may go forth *from us*. But there is another side to His Sacrifice *for us* in which

we can have no share, namely, that in which He trod the winepress *alone, to atone for us*, so that it might be possible for us, notwithstanding our sin, to draw near for forgiveness and life. We cannot but offer the sacrifice of our whole selves, body soul and spirit, if we would receive all that He has to bestow by reason of His Sacrifice for us—it is the very condition of our reception of the benefits of His Passion ; but when we speak of *His Sacrifice* and *our sacrifice* we are speaking of two things indissolubly connected as cause and effect, but eternally separate as *for us* and *from us*. His Sacrifice was and is a propitiation, our sacrifice is no propitiation in the primary sense of the word. To confuse the two senses of the word sacrifice is to fail to distinguish between things that differ, and to open a way for the thought that in some way or other we *atone* for ourselves.

To use the word sacrifice as indicating self-identification with the Sacrifice of Christ by those who partake of the Eucharist is to permit a meaning, however unintentionally, which not only varies from New Testament teaching but contradicts it.

7. With regard to the means, taken collectively, by which the Sacrifice of Christ is pleaded.

These means are all of a sacrificial character and signification. The bread and wine are sacrificial offerings in token of the dedication by first-fruits of all the fruits of the earth ; the alms are sacrifices to

God of our goods for the Lord's poor ; the prayers praises and the very thoughts of our hearts, which find their highest expression in the Eucharist, are sacrifices ; the presentation of our whole selves, body soul and spirit, with the powers belonging to them, including the consecration of our wills, all of which are involved in a true partaking of the Eucharist, are sacrifices ; the memorial presentation and pleading in the Eucharist of the Sacrifice of Christ is sacrificial in its whole spirit, as expressing the yielding of ourselves to God to be redeemed and sanctified ; the supreme spiritual act in which we present ourselves as needing and desiring to have wrought in us all that the act and spirit of our Lord's Sacrifice are intended to bestow and infuse is a sacrifice ; and the act of receiving the body and blood of the Lord in the bread and wine is a sacrificial reception, in which we sacrifice before Him all that is contrary in us to His holy Will. But none of these infringe on the great Sacrifice of our Divine Lord, Who gave Himself for us, that we might thus give ourselves and all we are and have to Him. In these several aspects, and in their complex centralisation in the wholeness of our observance of the rite, the Eucharist is "our sacrifice," while His Sacrifice is yet eternally distinct, as That of which our sacrifice is a Memorial, a Reception, and to which it is a Response. He has offered His Sacrifice, we continually offer our sacrifice ; HIS *we* can never offer, but only plead and receive.

CHAPTER VI.

THE REAL PRESENCE.

THE expression "The Real Presence" needs defining. It may mean the real Presence of the Living Christ where two or three are met together in His name, and especially when they are thus met to obey His command, "Do this in remembrance of Me." Or it may mean the real presence of the body and blood of Christ in the bread and wine of the Eucharist, brought about by the prayer of invocation or consecration.

We are not now dealing with the interpretation of the words of Institution, "This is My body," "This is My blood." These words have been examined in my previous book. Nor are we dealing with the Schoolmen's dogma and definition, usually called Transubstantiation. Our concern is with the ante-Nicene writings; and the question there is not, Are the ante-Nicene writers right or wrong in their expressions? but Do they attribute the Real Presence of the Body and Blood of the Lord in the bread and wine? For answer we must examine the several statements which are pertinent to the inquiry.

1. S. Justin says that the food which is blessed by the prayer of His word is not received as common bread and common drink, but is the flesh and blood of that Jesus Who was made flesh. [This is but a dwelling on the words of Institution.]

2. S. Irenæus says that our Lord has established the bread as His own body, and confessed the cup to be His blood ; that the bread, when it receives the invocation of God, is no longer common bread, but that the Eucharist consists of two realities—earthly and heavenly, and argues that they who maintain that the things around us originated from apostasy, and do not call Jesus the Son of the Creator of the world, are inconsistent with themselves in speaking of the bread and the cup as the body and blood of the Lord. He says that the oblation of the Eucharist is not a carnal one but a spiritual, and in this respect pure ; that when "we have perfected the oblation we invoke the Holy Spirit that He may exhibit this sacrifice, both the bread the body of Christ, and the cup the blood of Christ," as "antitypes." [This is but a dwelling on the words of Institution, with emphasis on the spiritual against the carnal meaning, as determining the purity of the oblation.]

3. S. Clement of Alexandria says that "to drink" is the symbol of perfect appropriation, and adds, "For My blood," says the Lord, "is true drink"; that "Eat ye My flesh and drink My blood" describe distinctly by metaphor the drinkable properties of

faith, and that Christ is the new regimen; that thus in many ways the Word is figuratively described as meat and flesh, and food and bread, and blood and milk. The Lord is all these, to give enjoyment to us who have believed on Him; the Scripture has named wine the symbol of the sacred blood. [The elements are symbolical and the partaking metaphorical; faith receives Christ.]

4. S. Hegesippus says that the honoured and undefiled body and blood are day by day administered sacrificially at the spiritual table as a memorial of that first and ever-memorable table of the spiritual and Divine Supper, and that they are given to us to eat and drink it for the remission of sins. [Emphasis on the memorial and spiritual character of the Eucharist in relation to its sacrificial reference.]

5. Tertullian speaks of an idol-maker applying his hands to the Lord's body, and says that it is a mangling of, and a scandal done to, the Lord's body; of supping upon God; that His body is reckoned in bread. [He says also that "when you cast yourself at the brethren's knees you are handling Christ."] He says "We feel pained should any bread or wine be cast upon the ground." "He made the bread His own body by saying 'This is My body,' that is, the figure of My body, a figure, however, there could not have been unless there were first a veritable body." [The realisation of the spiritual meaning and effect of partaking of the Supper is so intense that thought

of the elements is lost, the sign in the thing signified, and the spiritual effect expressed by the words to "sup on God." That this is so is manifest from Tertullian's "figurative" interpretation of This is My body, and his statement that Christ is to be devoured with the ear, ruminated on with the understanding, and digested by faith. A similar intensity of realisation makes him say that to cast oneself at the brethren's knees is to handle Christ; so, with "a holy portion of Christ" under 11.]

6. Origen says, This bread becomes by prayer a sacred body, which sanctifies those who sincerely partake of it. He also says we eat the flesh of the Lamb with bitter herbs and unleavened bread when we repent of our sins and grieve with the sorrow which is according to God. [Origen's first statement must be understood by his second statement. See specially Com. on Matthew xi. 14, p. 148.]

7. Dionysius of Alexandria speaks of one who had stretched forth his hands to receive the blessed food and had been a partaker of the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ; he also speaks of partaking of the spiritual table. [This is but a dwelling on the words of Institution.]

8. S. Cyprian speaks of the wine whereby the blood of Christ is shown forth; of Christ Who is the heavenly bread. [This is but a dwelling on the words of Institution.]

9. In the Constitutions of the Holy Apostles

reference is made to the imparting of the saving body and precious blood of Christ, and to the reasonable, unbloody, and mystical sacrifice of His body and blood, which is performed to represent the death of the Lord by symbols. [This is but a dwelling on the words of Institution, with emphasis on the representative and symbolical character of the Eucharist.]

10. In the Sacramentary of Sarapion the bread and wine are the likeness of the body and death and blood of the Lord [apparently an interpretation of the words, This is My body, This is My blood], and prayer is offered that the bread and the cup may become the body and blood of the Lord. [See note under 12, but the remarkable expression "the likeness" must also be taken into account.]

11. In the Liturgy of S. James the following expressions occur: The holy, spiritual table, upon which Thy Only-begotten Son and our Lord Jesus Christ is mystically set forth; this mysterious and awful service as an everlasting memorial. The King of kings comes forward to be sacrificed and to be given for food to the faithful; this spiritual and bloodless sacrifice; that He may sanctify this bread and make it the holy body of Thy Christ, and this cup the precious blood of Thy Christ; a holy portion of Christ. [A divergence alike from other ante-Nicene and New Testament teaching is manifest in the statement that Christ "comes forward to be sacrificed."]

12. In the Liturgy of S. Mark: That Thy Holy

Spirit may make this bread the body, and this cup the blood of the New Testament of Christ Jesus. [The expression here and in 11, "That He may *make* the bread the body," etc., seems to imply a change in the elements, and differs from our Lord's words, "This *is* My body." The change of expression may have no essential meaning, or it may be an opening of the way for the theory of *ex opere operatum.*]

It is but fair to these several writers to interpret one set of expressions by other expressions of their own and to understand what may at first sight seem to be extreme expressions by their other Scriptural language. To reverse this process, and to give to the extreme expressions an importance over-riding their Scriptural expressions, is unfair, and by the effect of such interpretation to inculcate in some instances that which is retrograde and material. Neither is it fair to take expressions which are the fruit of an exalted strength of devotional feeling and turn them into dry theological arguments for dogmatical belief and interpretation. While recognising that these expressions should not be severely criticised, the use that has been made of them by ill-balanced minds cannot but be regretted, both for the error thus introduced and for the violent reaction which has led many to depreciate and even ignore the deep meaning and purpose of this Sacrament. To lose sight of the *sign* in the *thing signified*, to forget the

means in the *end*, is the essence of spiritual worship, but to transfer what is said about these latter to the former is to reverse the meaning and attach to things material that which belongs to things spiritual.

CHAPTER VII.

REVIEW OF THE ANTE-NICENE REPRESENTATION OF THE POSITION AND FUNCTIONS OF THE MINISTERS OF JESUS CHRIST IN RELATION TO HOLY SCRIPTURE.

IN the ante-Nicene writings evidence is given of a general confirmation, with certain exceptions hereafter noted, of New Testament teaching as summarised at p. 7, the chief points of which are:—

1. The three Orders of Official Ministry.
2. Episcopal ordination in the line of the Apostolical Succession.
3. The character of Official Ministry as—priestly, based upon the priestly character of the whole Christian people, but by reason of office presidential in the Church and Sacraments; administrative of Holy Scripture, and non-exclusive of the unofficial ministry of preaching, teaching, and exhorting.
4. The character of Baptism as spiritual, sacramental, and regenerative.

5. The character of the Lord's Supper as sacramental, spiritual, eucharistic, commemorative before God, and life-sustaining.

The period covered by this confirmatory testimony is 250 years—from A.D. 75–100 to about the middle of the fourth century; and the localities in which this testimony is borne embrace Egypt, Palestine, Asia Minor, Rome, Greece, Macedonia, Phrygia, Gaul, Africa, Cappadocia, Arabia, Cilicia, and Nicomedia, or all the principal Churches of East and West.

The exceptions from this general confirmation consist in the following particulars:—

I. *The Official Ministers become an increasingly separated and exclusive class.*

The process may be thus broadly outlined:—

A.D. 95–96. *S. Clement of Rome.* They are regarded as a class holding an organic relationship and discharging organic functions to the Church.

70–110. *S. Ignatius.* They are regarded as a class essential to the constitution and action of the Church, to the validity of the Sacraments, the certainty of Christian doctrine, and the unity of Christian fellowship.

100–150. *The Didaché.* They are to be supported by the gifts of the Churches, and, as thus

supported, are regarded as occupying a specially priestly position.

248–258. *S. Cyprian.* The position claimed for them by S. Ignatius is emphasised and extended.

Fourth-century compilation. *The Apostolical Constitutions.* The position claimed for them by S. Ignatius and S. Cyprian is developed in detail.

II. *Exclusive claims are gradually formulated on behalf of the visible organised Church and its local bishop.*

The process may be thus broadly outlined:—

A.D. 70–110. *S. Ignatius.* If individual prayer is effectual, the prayers offered in association with the bishop and the whole Church must be much more effectual. The office and presence of the bishop is essential to the existence and constitution of the Church, to the identification of Apostolic tradition, the validity of the Sacraments, all the actions of the Church and the unity of Christian fellowship; nothing is to be done without the bishop.

170–200. *S. Irenæus.* The gifts of ministry have been placed in the Church by the Lord, and the presbyters in the Church in succession from the Apostles have received the certain gift of truth; it behoves, therefore, that the truth

should be learned from the Churches of the Apostolic Succession, and that the presbyters be obeyed.

197–223. *Tertullian.* Except in cases of special emergency, bishops, presbyters, and deacons alone have the right to baptise, and these two last only by the authority of the bishop. Bishops in the Apostolic Succession are the only guarantee of the Apostolic tradition.

216. *Demetrius.* A claim is made that the unofficial ministry of teaching in the Church is permissible only in the absence of the bishop. [Condemned by Alexander of Jerusalem.]

248–258. *S. Cyprian.* The visible Church as constituted in the three Orders is declared to be the only means of salvation and spiritual nourishment. A priestly character is claimed for the bishop, to the overshadowing of the priestly character of presbyters and Christians generally.

Fourth-century compilation. *The Apostolical Constitutions.* The Church is the antitype of the Tabernacle, and nothing is to be done without the bishop.

III. *Ordination.*

A.D. 248–258. *Novatian.* Schismatical, episcopal ordination of a bishop. [Condemned by S. Cyprian.]

300–311. *Meletius.* Extra-diocesan, episcopal ordination of presbyters. [Condemned by S. Phileas and Peter of Alexandria.]

IV. *The character of the Lord's Supper.*

The growth of variation in ideas connected with the Lord's Supper may be thus broadly outlined:—

A.D. 95–96. *S. Clement of Rome.* The offering of gifts, which included the eucharistic celebration by the bishops or presbyters, gave them a sacred claim on the loyalty of the Church.

70–110. *S. Ignatius.* The validity of the Eucharist depends on the bishop's administration.

100–150. *The Didaché.* The breaking of the bread is called "our sacrifice."[1]

148. *S. Justin the Martyr.* The food of the Eucharist which has been blessed by prayer is not regarded as common bread, but is the flesh and blood of the Lord.

170–200. *S. Irenæus.* The bread which has received the invocation of God is no longer common bread, but consists of two realities, earthly and heavenly.

197–223. *Tertullian.* Pain is felt if any of the bread or wine be cast upon the ground.

[1] Further references to the Eucharist as a sacrifice are not given under this division. They abound in the ante-Nicene period, and are noted under the respective writers. See also Chap. V., "The Sacrificial Character of the Eucharist," and Chap. VI., "The Real Presence."

219–253. *Origen.* This bread *becomes* by prayer a sacred body.

248–258. *S. Cyprian.* The Eucharist is offered for the faithful dead.

350. *Sarapion.* The Eucharist is medicinal.

Fourth - century compilation. *The Clementine Liturgy.* The Eucharist is offered for the faithful dead.

Fourth-century compilation. *The Liturgy of S. James.* The Eucharist is itself a propitiation. Christ is [again] sacrificed. The bread and wine are *made* the body and blood of the Lord. The Eucharist is offered for the faithful dead.

Fourth-century compilation. *Liturgy of S. Mark.* The bread and wine are made the body and blood of the Lord.

Fourth - century compilation. *Liturgy of SS. Adæus and Marius.* The Eucharist is offered for the faithful dead.

V. *Prayer is offered to the Mother of our Lord for her intercession.*

The Liturgy of SS. Adæus and Marius.

These exceptions are, for the most part, small in comparison with the great mass of evidence which is confirmatory of New Testament teaching, but they represent variations, some of which were afterwards

followed out, to the great corruption of the Faith. It is to be noted, moreover, that the serious divergences are found in the Liturgies and in the Apostolic Constitutions, which are of an acknowledged composite character, while no external evidence is available as to the original dates of their several parts.

A comparison of the teaching of these documents with that of the other ante-Nicene literature leads to the conclusion that these divergences are probably corruptions which belong to a date later than the Council of Nicæa, and that they were interpolated in the manuscripts with the view of securing for them a primitive confirmation which did not really belong to them. Internal evidence is therefore against the acceptance of these divergences as representative of primitive Church teaching during the first three centuries.

THE END.

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